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A SURVEY OF JAPANESE HISTORIOGRAPHY

ALTHOUGH Japan is mentioned in Chinese historical works as early as the first century A.D., in the "History of the Han" (*Han Shu*), and another reference appears in the third century in "The History of the Three Kingdoms" (*San Kuo Shih*), Prince Shotoku (d. 621) was the first Japanese to order the compilation of an official history of his country. Unfortunately this has been lost, but beginning with historical texts of the eighth century the compilation of official histories and the collection of materials has continued without interruption down to the present moment.[1]

The two earliest histories are "The Record of Ancient Things" (*Kojiki*), begun under order of Emperor Temmu (d. 686) and finally completed in 712, and "The Chronicles of Japan" (*Nihongi*), written at the command of Empress Genshō in 720. Both these works were a mixture of myth, legend, and history written to enhance the prestige of the then reigning sovereigns and give an account of Japanese history from its dawn to 697 A.D. Each of these sources received the attention of Western students of Japanese history at an early date, resulting in an English translation of the *Kojiki* by Chamberlain in 1882 and of the *Nihongi* by Aston in 1896. There next follow five official chronicles covering the period 697-887, which, together with the *Nihongi,* form

[1] For previous treatment of the subject of Chinese historical sources see K. S. Latourette, "Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Seven Years", *American Historical Review,* XXVI, 703-16, and Walter T. Swingle, "Chinese Historical Sources", *ibid.,* pp. 717-25. The following articles have appeared in French on Japanese historical sources and bibliography: Claude Maitre, "La littérature historique du Japon", *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême-Orient,* III, 564-96; S. Elisseev, "Japon", *Histoire et historiens depuis cinquante ans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 560-69; Émile Gaspardone, "Les bibliographies japonaises", *Bulletin de la Maison franco-japonaise, Tōkyō,* IV, 29-115. All of these articles are excellent and may be familiar to many, yet the present survey covers slightly different material. The best treatment of the subject in Japanese is in K. Kuroita, *Kokushi no Kenkyū* (Tōkyō, 1933), I, 155-211. The present writer has made use of an unpublished manuscript, "A Bibliography of Japanese History", by Mr. Ryusaku Tsunoda of Columbia University. He is greatly indebted to Mr. Tsunoda not only for the use of this manuscript but for many helpful suggestions.

the "Six National Histories" (*Rikkokushi*) and are the basis of our knowledge of Japan's early history. They are written in a formal Chinese style and record in chronological order, often without comment, the happenings at court. Though they were in manuscript form as late as the seventeenth century, they have all been published in various modern editions or special collections, some with indexes and chronologies. Recent translations into English of part of these "Six National Histories", in their original chronological style, will be of particular interest to the Occident.[2]

The classical period in Japanese history, exemplified by the rise and fall of great families such as the Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto, and Hōjō, is best described in the various "Mirrors" (*Kagami*) and "Narratives" (*Monogatari*). The "Mirrors" or reflections of contemporary historical events, written by individual members of the court elite, were influenced by the highly developed aesthetic court life, were in Japanese style, and were freer and more imaginative than the previous histories. One of the most important of these, describing historical events from 850 to 1025, is "The Great Mirror" (*Ōkagami*), originally written in eight volumes and ascribed by some modern scholars to Fujiwara Tamenari, an eleventh century courtier. Another, "The Mirror of Eastern Japan" (*Azuma Kagami*), is indispensable for an understanding of the Kamakura Period (1192-1333). Giving a still different picture of the same period are the "Narratives", such as "The Tales of the House of Taira" (*Heike Monogatari*) and "Records of the Rise and Fall of the Minamoto and Taira Families" (*Gempei Seisuiki*), in which the rivalry of these two great warrior families is described. "The Tales of Genji" (*Genji Monogatari*), known to the Occident in the admirable translation of Arthur Waley, is famous both as a novel and as a description of early court life but should not be confused with the more historical narratives just mentioned.

Another type of writing relating to this period was the work of Buddhist priests. Beginning with biographies of devout pilgrims who traveled between China and Japan, they described both of these countries as well as the development of Buddhism. These writings and those in a more frivolous vein fill many volumes of modern collections. Of special significance as a historical work is an extract entitled *Gukwanshō* ("Miscellany of Personal Views of an Ignorant Fool") by

[2] See J. B. Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from 697-791 A.D.", Asiatic Society of Japan, *Transactions*, ser. 2, XI, 151-239, and XIV, 209-78; also R. K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History, 40 B.C.—A.D. 1167* (2 vols., Princeton, 1937).

the Abbott Jichin (Fujiwara Jien, 1155-1225), a history written about 1220, which linked Japanese history with that of China and India and summarized, from a Buddhist point of view, historical events up to the military dictatorship of the Hōjō family, the actual rulers of Japan from 1205 to 1333.

Although the Ashikaga period (1336-1573) was not primarily a period of literature or thought, but one of action, a few significant works appeared. Formulating from a Shintoist viewpoint the ideas and traditions characterizing Japanese history up to the period of the turbulent Northern and Southern dynasties (1336-1392), was the work entitled "The Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Emperors" (*Jinnō Shōtōki*). Written about 1340 by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1291-1354), it contains lengthy quotations from the earliest histories to prove the legitimacy of the Southern dynasty. The work was of still greater importance as a philosophical background for the Imperial Restoration of 1868 and is again becoming influential in the formation of the theories of a strong, modern, nationalistic Japan. Other attempts were made in recording significant events, but the period is lacking in important historical works, with the exception of a work entitled, "Records of Great Peace" (*Taiheiki*), an ironical title for accounts of intrigue, conspiracy, and warfare during the reigns of Emperors Godaigo and Gomurakami (1319-68). It is interesting to note, in passing, that this work became the standard for prose in the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), was one of the first histories whose authenticity was doubted by scholars of the late nineteenth century, and is now receiving the attention of modern historians with political inclinations.

The Zen priests, who were the most literate group during the Ashikaga period, became not only the political advisers of the shoguns but letter writers, trade commissioners, and diplomatic representatives. An excellent example of their writings is that of the Zen monk and court scribe, Shuhō, entitled "Valuable Records of Amity with our Neighbors" (*Zenrin Kokuhōki*), a collection of diplomatic documents and messages exchanged between the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese courts. Another priest, Shiren (1278-1346), desirous of shifting the emphasis of Japanese Buddhist priests and scholars from Chinese to Japanese Buddhism, compiled in 1322 in thirty volumes a study of the lives of the founders, supporters, and leading monks of Japanese Buddhism, entitled "Biographies of Buddhist Priests" (*Genkyō Shakusho*).[3]

[3] For translations, complete or partial, of works prior to the seventeenth century, as well as those of a later date, the reader is referred to the following standard bibliog-

With the centralization of power in the hands of the Tokugawa family after 1600 and a protracted period of internal peace in contrast to the previous years of civil strife, it was natural that historical works, as well as a vast amount of literature in every other field, should develop. This was greatly stimulated by official encouragement. In 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, ordered that all available works be collected and placed in one of the libraries which he had established, and Hayashi Dōshun (1583-1657), one of the leading advocates of Confucianism in Japan, was placed in charge of the official school of the government and the compilation of historical materials. By 1664 Hayashi Shunsai (1618-80), his grandson, was ordered to complete the work already started, which resulted in a history of Japan dealing with events from 660 B.C. to 1611 A.D. This was entitled "A General Mirror of Japan" (*Honchō Tsugan*) and modeled after the famous *Tzŭ Chih T'ung Chien* (A History of China from the Fourth Century B.C. to the Tenth Century A.D) of Ssŭ-ma Kuang (1019-86). The *Honchō Tsugan* was a conscientious and painstaking task, a work of 273 sections, plus 37 sections of chronological indexes and bibliographies, which was finally completed in 1670. The original manuscript was handed over to the Imperial Household at the time of the Restoration of 1868, and from it a new edition was published in 1918.

This great work was a definite stimulus to another and still greater enterprise, "The History of Japan" (*Dai Nihon Shi*), conceived by Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700). Mitsukuni, the lord of Mito and leader of one of the three great branches of the Tokugawas, was not satisfied with the interpretation given to the origin of the imperial family in the *Honchō Tsugan* or with the philosophy of the Hayashi family, who were the leaders of the official school of the government. To begin his project, Mitsukuni selected a group of scholars for his compilation, among whom was Chu Shun-shui (1600-82), a Chinese who had found the political situation in China so untenable after the downfall of the Ming court that he willingly accepted the task offered

raphies on Japan: Fr. von Wenckstern, *A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* (2 vols., Leiden, 1895, and Tōkyō, 1907); Oskar Nachod, *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire, 1906-1935* (5 vols., London, 1928, Leipzig, 1931, 1935, and 1937). As the study of historical writings on Japan in European languages is too large to be discussed here, it must be left for later treatment. However, a recent translation by Hermann Bohner, *Jinnō Shōtōki, Buch von der Wahren-Gott-Kaiser-Herrschafts-Linie* (Tōkyō, 1935), and that by Professor J. Rahder, of parts of the *Gukwanshō* in *Acta Orientalia*, XV, 173-230, are significant enough to receive special mention.

him by the lord of Mito. "The History of Japan", which was written in formal Chinese style, though begun in 1657, was not completed until 1905. The first part was finished in 1709 and finally presented in 1810 to the Emperor Kōkaku (1780-1816). By its emphasis upon the origin of the imperial line and its insistence on legitimate succession and the importance of the imperial family, it soon became a decisive factor in the political and cultural development of the restoration that was to overthrow the dictatorship of the very shogun who was a direct descendant of Mitsukuni's branch of the Tokugawa family. The first partial publication, that of the sections entitled "Chronicles of the Emperors" and "Biographies", appeared in 1810 in 100 volumes, but 146 volumes still remained to be published. These original editions, in Japanese style books, have finally been reduced to a modern edition of seventeen volumes. The history itself covers the period from 660 B.C. to 1412 A.D.

The collection of materials and their classification continued under the patronage of the government, simultaneously with the compilation of the "History of Japan". The most outstanding work was that of Hanawa Hokiichi (1746-1821), who, in spite of his blindness, collected 1273 documents and arranged them in 25 sections in a series entitled "Japanese Sources classified by Subjects" (*Gunsho Ruiju*) in 650 volumes. This classification and collection of texts continued even after Hanawa's death and resulted in supplementary volumes with 2103 titles, which were made into another large collection entitled "A Continuation of Japanese Sources classified by Subjects" (*Zoku Gunsho Ruiju*). Both compilations were attempts to classify and publish important available documents from the earliest period to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Though the supplementary collection remained in manuscript for years, owing to lack of funds, both were finally published by the Keizai Zasshisha in Tōkyō—the *Gunsho Ruiju* in eighteen volumes (1893-94) and the *Zoku Gunsho Ruiju* in the same number of volumes (1902-12).

The Tokugawa shoguns continued in power until 1868 and ordered the compilation of an official record of their rule, but other important movements were developing to counteract the writings of the Confucian philosophers which they supported. The most important of these was that of the classicists, who began to see the evils resulting from the usurpation of power by the shoguns and attempted to arouse support for the emperor. One of the most influential writers of this group was Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), who naturally turned to the study of Japan's oldest history, "The Record of Ancient Things"

(*Kojiki*). In spite of the official condemnation of the classicist school, he labored for thirty-five years and finally found justification in antiquity for his beliefs, producing a monumental commentary on the *Kojiki* known as the *Kojiki Den,* which made the original *Kojiki* not only available but intelligible to his contemporaries. This critical spirit inspired many others, such as Rai Sanyo (1780-1832), whose work, "An Unofficial History of Japan" (*Nihongaishi*), was written as a direct challenge to the power of the Tokugawa shoguns.

With the intellectual world thus prepared for the imperial restoration in 1868, it was not long before the new government established a historical bureau under its own protection. A decree issued in 1869 called for an official compilation of Japanese history, beginning with the "Six National Histories". Three years later the bureau was divided into geographical and historical sections, and by 1877 the Great Council of State established the Bureau of Historical Compilation. Ten years after this the first chair of Japanese history was created in the newly established Imperial University of Tōkyō, and by 1895 the Bureau of the Compilation of Japanese Historiography (Shiryō Hensangakari), founded in 1888, was moved to the university and became a division of the Faculty of Letters. The earlier years of its activities were devoted to the collection of materials and the publication of a biblography, but by 1900 it announced as its main task the compilation of historical data to be presented in chronological order. Thus was born the *Dai Nihon Shiryō,* a collection of historical materials based on diaries, memoirs, documents, and miscellaneous manuscripts, which when completed will run to three hundred octavo volumes. The various historical epochs from the end of the ninth century to the early seventeenth are divided into twelve periods, each period being treated by a separate section of compilers and each section publishing about a volume a year since 1901. The formation of a thirteenth section is now under consideration. The bureau likewise publishes "Historical Documents of Japan" (*Dai Nihon Komonjo*), consisting of imperial edicts, orders, government decrees, instructions, and resolutions, arranged chronologically. Two sections of this collection are concerned, respectively, with "Foreign Intercourse and the Fall of the Shogunate" (*Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Monjo*) and "Families" (*Iewake Monjo*). This collection will include some two hundred octavo volumes.

Other experts began the compilation of materials on special topics, including currency, land laws, the constitution, the imperial army, transportation, foreign affairs, and education. As early as 1879 Dr.

Nishimura Shigeki suggested the compilation of a comprehensive reference cyclopedia. This "Cyclopedia of Historical Matters" (*Koji Ruien*) was arranged in thirty parts, and publication in quarto volumes was begun in 1896. The fifty-first and last volume was not completed until 1913, but the finished product was a vast collection of historical data supported by quotations from texts of the various epochs. Under the direction of Dr. Taguchi Ukichi (1855-1905) "A Brief History of Japan" (*Nihon Kaika Shōshi*)—the story of a civilization, not a mere chronicle of rulers—appeared in six volumes between 1877 and 1882. A collection of historical works on the feudal period was printed in 468 volumes in the *Shiseki Shūran* (1881-85), and a supplementary collection of 56 works followed, only to have a new edition with tables and index appear in Tōkyō after 1900.

As more material for research became available, more publications followed. Dr. Shigeno Aneki and his colleagues published "An Essence of Japanese History" (*Kokushi Gan*) in seven volumes in 1891, and in spite of its being written in a difficult Chinese style, it was reedited in 1901. Dr. Takekoshi Yosaburō, a great admirer of Macaulay and inclined towards a liberal interpretation, published in 1896 "A History of 2500 Years" (*Nisen Gohyakunen Shi*), which was followed by "Great Works in Japanese History" (*Kokushi Taikei*), a collection of standard works including many of those mentioned above and edited under the direction of Dr. Taguchi. This edition (1897-1901) in seventeen volumes contained some fifty-one works and a supplementary series soon followed with fifteen more volumes. It is gratifying to note that an entirely new, enlarged, and annotated edition with fifteen new documents is now in the process of publication and when complete will comprise sixty volumes of some of Japan's most valuable historical documents.

Typical of the efforts of historians towards the end of the Meiji period (1868-1912) is the work entitled "Japanese History by Periods" (*Dai Nihon Jidai Shi*) by the scholars of Waseda University, Tōkyō, (1907-8), a nine-volume set dealing with political history. In accordance with the desire of the times to collect and publish all hitherto unpublished valuable materials was the formation of the Society for Publication of Historical Documents (*Kokusho Kankōkai*) in 1905. This society, under the guidance of a Waseda University professor, Mr. Ichishima Kenkichi, assisted by thirty-four experts, began the publication of texts in a series of 260 octavo volumes called *Kokusho Kankōkai Sōsho*. As an aid in the study of history there appeared in

1908, under the able supervision of Dr. Yashiro Kuniji, then professor of history in Kyōto Imperial University, "The Japanese Historical Dictionary" (*Kokushi Daijiten*) in six quarto volumes. Geographical and biographical dictionaries had already been published.

In contrast to the political emphasis of the Meiji scholars, the historians of the Taishō period (1912-26) concentrated on the cultural phases of Japanese history—its social, economic, religious, artistic, and literary aspects—producing, among other works, "A Cultural History of Japan" (*Nihon Bunka Shi*) in 1922 in twelve volumes. The most recent publications, however, have carried historical research one step further, for in "A Synthetic History of Japan" (*Sōgō Nihonshi Taikei*) Japanese history is divided into twelve periods, and an expert in each period not only mentions but evaluates the sources he has used. When complete, this will likewise be in twelve volumes. Lastly, under the able direction of Professor Kuroita Katsumi, eighty-three case studies of various phases of Japanese history have recently been published under the title of "Lectures on Japanese History" (*Nihon Rekishi Kōza*). These range from an analysis of methods of historical study to mythology and European attempts at Japanese cartography.

No account of Japanese historical sources, no matter how cursory, should conclude without mention of a few of the more important bibliographical dictionaries, the publications of certain Japanese historical societies, and finally the most recent critical studies of Japanese history as a whole. Of great importance was "The Handbook of Japanese Sources" (*Gunsho Ichiran*) by Ozaki Masayoshi (1755-1827), appearing in six volumes in 1801. To this general bibliography was added a supplement, edited by Nishimura Kanebumi under the title of *Zoku Gunsho Ichiran,* with corrections and additions to the original work of Ozaki. Both works have appeared in revised editions in 1931 and 1926 respectively. Coming at a later date, but invaluable as a bibliographical reference, is the "Bibliography of Japan" (*Kokusho Kaidai*) by Samura Hachirō (1865-1914). This work contains 25,000 titles of books appearing up to 1867, conveniently arranged in alphabetical order and with an abbreviated biography of each author. This bibliography is made even more useful by the inclusion of an author index, a subject index, and a title index arranged according to the number of strokes in the first character of the title; an index of important collected works (*Sōsho*) is appended to the two-volume edition of 1926. The first edition of *Kokusho Kaidai* went to press in 1897 and

was completed in 1900. One more bibliography should be mentioned, namely, "Chronological Tables of Works concerning Japanese History" (*Nihon Shiseki Nempyō*). This is based on and is a continuation of an earlier chronology written by Ban Nobutomo (1773-1846) and published in 1845. These tables are divided into two sections, the first composed of those from 888 to 1602 as listed by Ban, the second a continuation from 1603 to 1867.

As might be inferred from materials thus far mentioned, numerous societies of historians have been formed, usually centering in the universities with which the members have been connected and through their periodicals presenting achievements in historical research. First among these societies was the Meiji Historical Society (*Meiji Shigakukai*), created in 1889 and composed of the leaders of Japanese history at Tōkyō Imperial University. Their "Journal of Historical Studies" (*Shigaku Zasshi*), a monthly publication, still appears and is an important repository for historical research. In 1899 the Society of History and Geography was formed in Tōkyō by another group of scholars, and their current monthly publication, "History and Geography" (*Rekishi Chiri*), is also important. The young historians of Kyōto Imperial University have published, since 1916, the results of their careful research, especially in the field of archaeology, in their quarterly journal *Shirin*. Other universities have their own societies and publications.[4]

In reference to current critical studies of Japanese history, there is Professor Konakamura's "An Introduction to Japanese Historical Studies" (*Kokushi Gaku no Shiori*), first published in 1895, in which many historical works are listed and their value appraised. By far the best known and most highly acclaimed critical survey is that of Professor Kuroita Katsumi (1875), entitled "A Study of Japanese History" (*Kokushi no Kenkyū*). The first edition of this two-volume work immediately received favorable criticism after its publication in 1908 and has been the standard treatise on the subject ever since. A later edition, which appeared in 1913, has been enlarged and completely revised. The first volume of this most recent edition (1931-35) is a general discussion of such widely divergent subjects as linguistics, classical literature and its style, historical geography, chronologies, genealogies, histori-

[4] For a complete list of Japanese periodicals see "Bibliographie des principales publications éditées dans l'empire japonais", *Bulletin de la Maison franco-japonaise*, Tōkyō, III, Nos. 3 and 4, and VI, No. 4. An excellent critical résumé of articles in contemporary issues of some of these journals by Edwin Reischauer appears in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II, 22-134.

cal sources and historians, and the sphere of history. The last two volumes are a detailed exposition of Japan's cultural development and contain detailed references to historical writings published in Japanese from 1868 to 1930 and to the chief works in European languages. If, in this latest edition, the author tends toward a more strictly literal interpretation of the ancient histories, he is only reflecting the general tendency in Japan to emphasize her national heritage.

From Kyōto came another critical work, that of Professor Miura Shuko (1871-1927), entitled "Studies of Japanese History" (*Nihonshi no Kenkyū*), not an organized history as such but a collection of his essays and lectures on such subjects as the culture of the Middle Ages, the economic aspects of foreign relations and consequent growth of cities in the Ashikaga period (1336-1573), and surveys of the Meiji and Taishō periods (1868-1926).

Such are a few of the sources available to investigators in the field of Japanese historical research. In all the larger universities history is given a place of major importance, and most of the imperial universities have specialized in various phases of history—Kyōto in art, archaeology, and Buddhism, Kyūshū in foreign relations and Christianity in Japan, Sendai in the aborigines (Ainu), and Formosa in linguistics. In the Imperial University of Tōkyō six professors, with one associate and one assistant professor, now offer instruction in Japanese history, giving twelve different courses either as lectures or seminars. They have been under the supervision of Professor Tsuji Zennosuke, who is also chief of the Historical Compilation Bureau. Many of these professors devote their main efforts to research and supervise the twelve sections of the Compilation Bureau producing the *Dai Nihon Shiryō* and the *Dai Nihon Komonjo*. They are assisted by competent compilers and have one of Japan's best repositories of manuscripts and documents. This material, as well as that of the regular library of the university, is available to foreigners, and of course to Japanese, who are graduate students specializing in Japanese history, making Tōkyō the most important historical research center in Japan.

These, in briefest summary, are the main Japanese historical sources from the eighth century to the present. New documents are still in the process of publication, but all of the more important texts have been published, and new editions are continually appearing. Encyclopedias, dictionaries, bibliographies, and collected writings on history, economics, religion, agriculture, literature, and other subjects facilitate

research in these various fields. Indexes, which have constantly been neglected, are now being added. One of the greatest problems of the historian today is the selection of the most significant and important texts from among the mass of those published. Their true interpretation and, for the Occidental, their translation should make possible an understanding of Japan's historical background and her modern currents of thought and political development.

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ACADIAN TRANSIENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE Acadians were expelled from Nova Scotia during the period of hostilities between the French and the English in North America that preceded the Seven Years' War. In disposing of them, Governor Charles Lawrence did not consider sufficiently either their welfare or that of the provinces to which they were sent. One of the principal reasons for their dispersal was their supposed menace to English safety when concentrated in what was then the most northern British outpost on the American continent. Yet large numbers were removed to South Carolina, a southern frontier settlement, no less exposed to attack by the French and, in addition, menaced by the Spanish and Indian forces which would inevitably come to the aid of the French in the event of a general war. The Indians on the borders of South Carolina, while nominally allies of the British and the source of a highly profitable trade, were treacherous and entirely willing to sell their support to the highest bidder. In the event of the defection of its Indian neighbors, the colony could be easily invaded from the west.

Though South Carolina was not at that time involved in the undeclared war which was in progress between the northern colonies and the French, it might be so involved at any time, and it regarded with suspicion the arrival of a large number of French alien neutrals. Within a period of two months, during the winter of 1755-56, the colony received 942 Acadians, far more, in the opinion of Governor James Glen, than its share of the 7000 to be dispersed through the colonies.[1] On April 14, 1756, he wrote to the Board of Trade that 900 Acadians in all had been sent without warning to South Carolina. A few of these had gone elsewhere, but 200 others had come from Georgia. In addition there were 100 French prisoners, who had been brought in by English sea captains. He pictured the danger from so many French aliens, the fear lest they might join with the 40,000 Negroes, and the menace of disease.[2] He might have added that the colony was "weak and thinly populated",[3] that its white population numbered only 25,000,

[1] Nov. 21, 1755, Jan. 15, 1756, South Carolina House Journal, Colonial Office, 5/472, Public Record Office, London.

[2] South Carolina Original Correspondence, Board of Trade. There is a slight discrepancy in the figures given.

[3] Nov. 26, 1755, Apr. 22, 1756, House Jour., C.O. 5/472; James Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (London, 1761), pp. 30, 79.

which he estimated to be about 12 per cent of its inhabitants, Negro slaves constituting 22 per cent and Indians 66 per cent,[4] and that it was Protestant and hostile to the Catholic religion professed by the Acadians.[5]

It was not strange, therefore, that the *South Carolina Gazette* carried news items regarding the movements of these aliens in other British ports or that the South Carolina House of Commons refused to welcome the first consignment of Acadians, about 600, who arrived in the port of Charleston on November 21, 1755.[6] It made every conceivable excuse to evade responsibility. Though provisions were furnished to the Acadians and the British troops guarding them, a committee of the House insisted that these people had not been sent by command of the crown, that Governor Lawrence had not had orders to disperse them, and that therefore the colony was not bound to receive them. They were a menace, they had borne arms against the English, they were allied with the French, they were Roman Catholics who insisted on having their own priests, and they would not take the oath of allegiance. The fact that the "papist" religion was not allowed in the colony was in itself reason enough for refusing them admission, and their insistence on a neutral status also barred them, for it violated the military law which did not permit exemption from military service. There were the strongest grounds, the committee declared, "to dread, from the pernicious influence of these Transports, if they should be permitted to reside among us, all the Mischiefs which an inveterate hatred to the Protestant Religion, and a stiff bigottry to their own Tenents [*sic*], heightened by a spirit of Resentment, and a notion of their having been grievously injured could bring upon us." The committee expressed fear of the influence which the Acadians might have on the slaves. It mentioned the possibility of their stealing boats, finding out what parts of the province were accessible, and rendering assistance to the French in case of invasion. Then, too, they might tamper with the Indians. It would be necessary to place them under a strong guard in the event of an Indian attack or a slave insurrection. The best solution would be to get rid of them quickly.[7]

The governor's first reaction was very similar. He called attention to their Catholicism and their refusal to take the oath of allegiance and said that he doubted the wisdom of receiving them into thinly settled

[4] *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 20, Dec. 25, 1755; Jan. 29, Feb. 12, Apr. 22, 1756.

[5] Nov. 21, 25, 26, 1755, House Jour., C.O. 5/472.

[6] See note 4.

[7] Nov. 21, 26, 1755, House Jour., C.O. 5/472.

parts of the colony. He had some doubt, also, as to the legality of receiving them at all. Humanity, however, dictated that they be removed from the ships, which were greatly overcrowded. They could not long remain healthy under such conditions.[8]

After five days of waiting, because of disagreement and avowed distrust on the part of the House, some of the exiles were landed.[9] On December 3 the House made its first provisions for their care. These provisions gave additional proof of the colony's attitude of suspicion and fear. Indenture was suggested as a future means of handling them. The turbulent were to be kept in the workhouse until they could be sent away. Others were to be lodged temporarily in Charleston at public expense and under guard. The men might be sheltered in the barracks and set to work on the fortifications. The wages they received could be used for the support of all. Every evening at sunset they were to be mustered and accounted for. The House then provided ten shillings a week per person, showing that it did not believe that the work on the fortifications would furnish sufficient maintenance.[10]

Hardly had the colony recovered from the shock of the first 600 Acadians when an additional shipload of 342 appeared, on January 15, 1756. The governor informed the House that they were in great distress, being almost destitute of provisions. They had been deported from Acadia with a weekly supply of only one pound of beef, two pounds of bread, and five pounds of flour per person. Unmoved by this information, the House replied that in the interest of the province it was utterly averse to permitting the new arrivals to land. Nor would it make any provision for their support in the colony, though it would provide supplies to permit the ship's master to take them elsewhere. The latter, however, bluntly refused to leave port until the people in his charge had been landed and requested that measures be taken to preserve their lives.[11] Whereupon the House resolved not to support *any* Acadians after January 25. Menaced in its most sensitive spot, the pocketbook, it declared:

> This House having been informed that very few of the French, now in Charlestown, who were brought from Nova Scotia, do work or take the least pains to procure any Thing for their support; and considering what a grievous Burden the maintaining of so great a number of them must be to the Public: we have resolved that we will not provide for the subsistence of

[8] Nov. 21, 29, *ibid.*
[9] Nov. 26, *ibid.*
[10] Dec. 3, *ibid.*
[11] Jan. 15, 1756, *ibid.*

any of them after the 25th of this Instant. And we desire that your Excellency will please give orders for having the said French acquainted with this Resolution: which we are hopeful will set them upon measures for subsisting themselves by their own Labor.[12]

Despite this resolution, the House, on January 22, 1756, voted the sum of fifteen shillings per head for the subsistence of the new arrivals for fourteen days and offered to pay for transporting them wherever the governor deemed best. It also requested him, when the opportunity arose, to send out of town those without families and those who were refractory.[13]

The House was informed by a person who acted as interpreter for the Acadians that when they heard that all support was to cease after the 25th they displayed a turbulent and dangerous spirit. This information the House immediately transmitted to the governor, accusing him at the same time of having permitted Frenchmen to come by land to South Carolina while the French were invading the British colonies. At least one of these Frenchmen, they said, had made a map of Charleston and gained important military information.[14]

The governor replied on January 27, with some heat:

> Shall the Tittel Tattel of such a Fellow [the House informant] be so much regarded as to give rise to a Message from the Assembly to the Governor? I have formerly received numbers of Anonymus Letters and private Information which if I had communicated to the Public would have occasioned continual Confusion; of intended Invasion from the Havanna & Augustine; of French Spys in every part of the Province; of threatened Indian Wars & Negro Insurrections.

All of these rumors he had found to be groundless.[15] The interpreter, he said, had misrepresented the attitude of the Acadians and had, in fact, caused the trouble himself by calling them "Rascals, Rebels, Traitors" and telling them they deserved to be "starved and hanged". The governor had talked with their representatives and found that these poor people were "in the depth of Distress". Some of them were totally unfit to work. They declared that they had never borne arms against the English but instead had actually aided them. And in return they had been expelled from their native land, their homes destroyed, no chance given them to state their cases, no charges of crime lodged against them, and no reasons given for the treatment they received. The governor's personal contact with the Acadians evidently

[12] Jan. 16, *ibid.*
[13] Jan. 22, *ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Jan. 27, *ibid.*

induced him, temporarily at least, to champion their cause. Possibly he was influenced by the attack upon him which the House had made. He said that the Acadians would work cheerfully for a year at low wages, pointed out that if any of them refused to work, his disposition could be changed by a diet of bread and water, and requested the House to make further provision for their maintenance.[16] His good will toward them, however, seems to have been of short duration, for a few days later he was calling them "dangerous", though declaring that they must be maintained like other prisoners. His change in attitude probably reflected the alarm caused by the attempted escape of some of the Acadians from Charleston. Two parties of these aliens fled by land. While the majority were recaptured, about thirty could not be found. Five or six of the latter group, on February 3, went to a plantation at Santee, while the owner was away from home, frightened his wife, and stole firearms, clothing, and money. They were tracked to the River Swamp but escaped by crossing the river on a log. "Tis hoped", said the *South Carolina Gazette,* "these Acadians will not be suffered to commit any more Robberies, or even appear beyond the Limits prescribed them."[17]

As a result of the governor's appeal or of common humanity, the House, despite its previous declaration, finally resolved to support all Acadians who were unable to maintain themselves. On February 4, twenty days after their arrival, it permitted the 342 sea-weary exiles to land on Sullivan's Island, where they were to be maintained for fourteen days at 15 shillings a head, though they were not to be landed until their vessel had been thoroughly cleaned. The House took the added precaution of requesting the governor to forbid pilots of vessels having any Acadians on board to enter South Carolina ports in the future and to provide such ships with only enough provisions to continue on their voyage.[18] The financial provisions made by the House for the care of the Acadians proved to be inadequate, and on February 13 an additional £ 100 were appropriated for the care of the sick. Four days later the House passed an act to prevent the spread of contagious disease.[19]

There were now almost one thousand Acadians in Charleston and on Sullivan's Island, but no permanent or satisfactory plan for dealing

[16] Jan. 26, *ibid.*

[17] Feb. 4, *ibid; South Carolina Gazette,* Feb. 12, 19, 1756.

[18] Jan. 29, Feb. 4, 6, 1756, House Jour., C.O. 5/472.

[19] Feb. 13, 17, *ibid.*

with them had been worked out. The House had proposed, on January 22, that the Governor deport all single men, together with any who had been refractory.[20] The governor also had made a suggestion for deportation. On January 27 he announced that he had empowered the commissary to put any Acadians desirous of leaving on board any ships bound for Europe which would take them, and that he had already persuaded certain captains to accept some of them as passengers. But on February 4 he reversed himself, saying that he doubted his power to transport them, and attempted to shift the responsibility for the proposal to the House.[21] On February 20 the House asked him what he had done about deporting the single men. He replied that he had no power to act and suggested placing the Acadians on small islands along the coast and spending £12,000 to furnish cattle and rice to support them for one year. Three weeks later the House advised him to move the Acadians from Sullivan's Island to Charleston provided they had no contagious disease. Any who wished to do so, however, should be permitted to leave on any ships willing to take them,[22] an echo of former proposals.

At this time the problem was made more acute by the arrival of a number of Acadians who had originally been sent to Georgia. On March 31 the governor informed the House that these latter were passing along the shore in small boats and said that some of the Charleston Acadians might join them. The condition of the boats was such that he doubted whether they could be sailed much farther, and he suggested that the House furnish them with pilots,[23] obviously to make sure that they would be conducted past his colony. The House refused to do anything and seems thereby to have aggravated the problem, since mention is made, in a letter from Governor Glen to the Board of Trade, dated April 14, of the fact that two hundred Acadians from Georgia had entered the colony.[24]

Their arrival was made more significant by the appearance of other Frenchmen in Charleston. The House asked that these be confined, lest they stir up the Acadians and obtain information about the city's defenses. Captains of French vessels had been seen talking to the Acadians, and the colony was nervously awaiting an official declaration

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Jan. 27, *ibid.*; Entry Books, C.O. 5/403.

[22] Feb. 2, 13, 20, 21, 1756, House Jour., C.O. 5/472.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] S. C. Original Correspondence, Board of Trade.

of war. The British ships usually stationed in the harbor were soon to go to Nova Scotia, though the House asked the retention of two of them as a check on the Acadians, and the Independent Company, stationed by the crown in South Carolina, had been ordered to attack the Cherokees.[25]

Stirred to action by these events, the House, on April 8, unanimously resolved to defray the expenses of purchasing and provisioning ships to take the Acadians away and asked the governor to give such orders, "that no Time be lost in getting rid of this Danger".[26] The governor agreed to comply with the request of the legislature in spite of the fact that the plan proposed would entail a large expenditure and might easily incur the displeasure of the crown. That the House was willing to go so far was indicative of its desire to be rid of the burden and supposed menace of these alien people. If they left in vessels, the colony would be freed immediately of their presence, but if they went by land, they must traverse South Carolina. Such an overland migration inevitably contained an element of danger to the inhabitants of the colony, a fact which may help to explain the willingness of the House to pay for the evacuation by sea.[27]

Before any vessels could be provided, the *Gazette* of April 15 carried the news that eighty Acadians, with passports, had left in seven canoes, passed Sullivan's Island, and put to sea, intending to proceed along the shore and through the inlets to the northward. There were rumors that over three hundred more would follow in a few days, and during the first week in May some eighty did so.[28] It is probable that many of the Acadians in these parties were those who had entered South Carolina on their journey north from Georgia.

On April 22, two weeks after the House had resolved to provide vessels, the governor requested that preparations for the transportation of the exiles be hastened, since the Acadians would be less dangerous to the colony and the empire if they were located in the more populous provinces to the north "rather than in this weak and thinly populated colony", and since they were anxious to leave "as the Heats are now settling in".[29] On April 23 the House reported that £12,000 had been raised by subscription to defray the expense of purchasing and provision-

[25] Apr. 6, 7, 8, 1756, House Jour., C.O. 5/472.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Feb. 4, *ibid.*: *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 12, 19, 1756.
[28] *South Carolina Gazette*, Apr. 15, May 7, 1756.
[29] House Jour., C.O. 5/472.

ing vessels. The Acadians, however, asked for pilots, as none among themselves was capable of navigating ships. The House refused to grant this request, whereupon the Acadians declared that they would not use the vessels unless pilots were provided. This statement so aroused the House that the next day a bill was introduced for the dispersal of the exiles throughout the province.[30]

Considering the treatment they had received, their miserable condition, and their evident desire to leave, so clearly demonstrated by the foolhardy attempt of some to go in open boats and canoes, it might seem strange that the Acadians should refuse to accept the opportunity offered by the House. On the other hand, despite the claims of the legislature to the contrary, these people were farmers, not seafarers. They were not familiar with the coast or with navigation. In such circumstances, they naturally hesitated to embark with their families on a long, dangerous voyage. They had but recently experienced the hardships of the journey south, in which one ship had arrived with its provisions practically exhausted.[31] Knowing how anxious the people of South Carolina were to be rid of them, they may have believed that a firm stand would force the hand of the House. Nor did they have any definite destination. They could not return to Acadia without being again expelled, New France was strange and far distant, and they had little reason to expect better treatment from other British colonies than they had found in South Carolina.

The action of the House in refusing to provide pilots may also seem difficult to interpret, considering the vote of money to purchase ships and supplies, the known desire to be rid of the Acadians, and the passage, on the same day, of a bill to defray the expenses of all who wished to leave.[32] But pilots to navigate the vessels would make the whole affair more official. Merely to furnish the Acadians with ships would in itself have been a proceeding of sufficiently dubious legality without supplying them with pilots. Governor Glen had several times denied that he had authority to deport the Acadians. According to Governor Lyttleton, his successor, the British government had ordered that the Acadians should remain in South Carolina and not be shipped to England.[33] These orders from England made it virtually impossible

[30] Apr. 23, 28, 29, *ibid.*

[31] Jan. 15, 1756, *ibid.*

[32] Apr. 28, *ibid.*

[33] Feb. 4, *ibid.*; Governor Lyttleton to the Board of Trade, June 19, 1756, S. C. Original Correspondence, Board of Trade.

for South Carolina to solve the problem of the Acadians by deporting them. The governor therefore urged the House to consider a proper distribution of them, one which would minimize the burden imposed on the colony by their presence and reduce the danger of an insurrection on their part.

At about this time there was a fire at one of the wharves, which destroyed a quantity of stores. It was thought to have been started by some "hellish incendiary" and was deemed especially serious because of the number of Acadians in the town.[34]

These events led to the passage, on July 6, 1756, of a measure for the dispersal and indenture of the Acadians, which was executed within the same month. Only one fifth were allowed to remain in Charleston, while the remainder were to be divided among the several parishes of the colony. A record was to be kept of each individual. If any Acadian left the parish to which he was assigned, he was to be returned there. The parishes were obliged to receive their quotas of the exiles, and those persons refusing to labor for clothes and food were to be bound out, those over eighteen for three years, those under eighteen until they were twenty-one. For every Acadian so bound out the church wardens were to receive twenty shillings, payable by the person to whom he was bound, and the parish was relieved of his support, an incentive to carry out the indenture as soon as possible.[35]

By scattering the Acadians, the House thought that they would be rendered less dangerous, less liable to give information to the enemy or to incite the slaves to revolt, and less likely to spread disease. Indenture would provide a cheap means of furnishing subsistence and compelling work and would give the colony an additional, if not a very effective, labor supply. The colony, however, was committed to slave labor, with which an indentured class could not compete. Furthermore, the majority of the Acadians were women and children.[36]

This law defeated the Acadians' desire to remain together and their demand to be treated as prisoners of war. It led to violence on their part, which made it necessary to call out the town guard and the soldiers, but fortunately no one was injured. The Acadians were imme-

[34] *South Carolina Gazette,* June 17, 24, 1756.

[35] July 6, 1756, South Carolina Acts, C.O. 5/420; *South Carolina Gazette,* July 8, 22, 29, 1756.

[36] Governor Lyttleton to the Board of Trade, June 19, 1756, estimated the number of Acadians who had come to South Carolina as 1023, of whom 109 were dead, 273 had gone elsewhere, and 645 remained. Of these only 127 were men. S. C. Original Correspondence, Board of Trade.

diately forced to go to the parishes to which they had been assigned, vehicles being provided for those unable to walk.[37]

The parishes to which the Acadians were sent naturally did not want them. The church wardens of Prince Frederick's, for example, when notified that thirty-two were on their way, to be maintained until otherwise provided for, brought the matter before the vestry on August 2. That body decided to lodge the newcomers in the parsonage but made no provision for feeding them. When the wardens desired to be instructed as to this, they were told, *"They might do the best they pleas'd in the Matter."* Beyond this the vestry "refused taking the least Charge or Care of said Acadians". On August 10 the wardens distributed their allotment of Acadians among those parishioners who were willing to take them. Some effort was made to keep small families together, but large ones were divided. Of the thirty-two persons so disposed of, eight died in a short time.[38]

With the passage of the bill of July 6 the period of greatest activity in this affair of the Acadians was brought to an end. From the time of their arrival, on November 21, 1755, until the autumn of 1756, when the dispersal was carried out, the colony had to adjust itself to a new and burdensome situation, reflected in the frequent protests of both House and governor. This was likewise the period of greatest expense. In the four months, November 21, 1755, to March 25, 1756, the close of the fiscal year, South Carolina appropriated £5868 for the Acadians. During the twelve months, March 25, 1756, to March 25, 1757, it appropriated only £8126. The expenditure for this year was undoubtedly lessened by the act for dispersal and indenture of July, 1756. As this was put into complete operation, the cost to the colony of the maintenance of the Acadians declined, so that during the fiscal year of March, 1757, to March, 1758, only £2794 were appropriated for that purpose. During the next year, a slightly larger sum, £3104 was required, but the total sum for these two years was scarcely more than that appropriated for the first four months, while the tax list for 1759, grouping Acadians and prisoners of war together for the first time, allowed £4052 for their support.[39]

The reduction in the cost of caring for the Acadians was not altogether due to the dispersal and indenture system. A very high rate of

[37] Public Records of South Carolina, XVII, 129-31, cited in D. D. Wallace's *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), II, 16-18.

[38] *Register Book for Prince Frederick Winegow, 1713* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 141-43.

[39] S. C. Acts, C.O. 5/420, 421.

mortality decreased the number of exiles rapidly. From the outset fear that the Acadians would bring disease into the colony had been expressed. That many of them were sick appears to be true, judging from the measures taken to provide for their medical care. In March, 1756, the House had information that a large number of the Acadians placed on Sullivan's Island had died, victims of impure water and inadequate care, and asked the governor to provide a physician.[40] Governor Lyttleton's statistics show the high death rate of 109 out of 1023.[41] The House tried to combat a smallpox epidemic in February, 1760, by eliminating overcrowding in Charleston and granted £2000 for the maintenance of those incapable of working.[42] On May 30 it passed an act intended to serve as a future preventive of the spread of smallpox.[43]

The ravages of the disease are reflected in a petition from the inhabitants of Charleston, asking the House to reimburse them for provisions, linen, and medicine, given to 340 destitute Acadians who had applied to the church wardens for help, were refused, and had been cared for by the petitioners.[44] Evidently the measures against smallpox were not wholly effective for the governor, on June 27, 1760, asked for additional relief and said that the number of Acadians had been greatly reduced by deaths. On July 12 a committee of the House reported that there were only 210 Acadians in South Carolina. Of this number, 42 were men, 42 were women, 52 were boys, and 74 were girls. On July 16 the same committee announced that in spite of what had been spent for relief, the Acadians had suffered greatly from lack of proper care.[45] Nevertheless, they were not specifically provided for in the tax bill for the year 1761, passed in July, 1760, and are not mentioned in subsequent tax measures.[46]

The measure for dispersal, however, was breaking down, as the Acadians were leaving the parishes to which they had been sent. In October, 1758, the vestry of St. Helena's Parish desired the church wardens to inform those who did not belong there that it was illegal

[40] Nov. 21, 1755; Mar. 13, 23, 1756; Feb. 4, 13, 17, 21, July 18, 1760, House Jour., C.O. 5/472. Governor Glen to the Board, Apr. 14, 1756, S. C. Original Correspondence, Board of Trade.

[41] Governor Lyttleton to the Board, June 19, 1756, *ibid.*

[42] Feb. 9, 12, 1760, House Jour., C.O. 5/473.

[43] S. C. Acts, C.O. 5/421.

[44] May 16, 1760, House Jour., C.O. 5/473.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] S. C. Acts, C.O. 5/422.

for them to remain.[47] The council asserted that many individuals were drifting into Charleston and ordered them sent back to their own parishes.[48] St. Phillip's Parish, Charleston, complained of the heavy burden imposed by the necessity of caring for soldiers, their widows and orphans, and, above all, the Acadians, of whom there were a great number.[49] By February, 1760, before the smallpox epidemic had taken its toll, there were 340 Acadians in and about Charleston, yet if Governor Lyttleton had been correct in his estimate, made over three years earlier, there were then only 645 to be dispersed, and of those only one fifth, or 129, were to be allowed to remain in Charleston.[50]

The smallpox outbreak and the resultant expense to the colony gave great concern to the House. Burdened by the expense of a war with the Cherokees bordering on the South Carolina settlements, which had broken out in the fall of 1759 and lasted, with only one intermission, into 1761, and increasingly fearful of aliens, the House again became interested in schemes to restrain the Acadians and plans to be rid of them. On June 6, 1760, it appointed a committee to look into the state of the Acadians in Charleston and to recommend measures calculated to prevent them from doing mischief.[51]

According to the committee's report the few Acadians who remained were averse to continuing under the British government's control. Over £25,000 in all had been expended for the Acadians, and they had been treated with great humanity, yet their sentiments had undergone no alteration, and there was no indication that they would ever prove to be of any service to the colony. Orphan children bound to the handicraft trades and others who had been placed in private families might secure a living, but they were so bigoted and obstinate that they preferred to live in misery. They were useless, a burden to the province, and, in case of an invasion or uprising, liable to desert to the enemy. The governor should be asked to transport them to Europe or to some French port in America, and a sum of money should be provided for the purpose.[52]

The House disagreed with this report and advised the governor that it would be too dangerous to send them to any of the French dominions,

[47] *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Helena's Parish, South Carolina, 1728-1812*, edited by A. S. Salley, jr. (Columbia, 1919), p. 97.

[48] South Carolina Council Journals, June 6, 1758-June 6, 1759, C.O. 5/476.

[49] July, 1759, House Jour., C.O. 5/473.

[50] Feb. 9, May 16, 1760, *ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] July 12, 1760, *ibid.*

since many had been employed in South Carolina as fishermen and knew the coast well enough to give valuable information to the enemy. They all knew the defenseless condition of the colony. It would be far wiser, therefore, to ship them to Great Britain. Until they could be disposed of, the House resolved to provide for the aged, the infirm, and the young, at the rate of one shilling three pence a head per day. Governor Bull, who had succeeded Governor Lyttleton, replied that the Acadians could not be sent to Great Britain without incurring royal displeasure, citing orders to that effect which had been received by his predecessor in office.[53] Thus it seemed that they must remain, and that schemes to be rid of them were as futile in 1760 as they had been in 1755 and 1756. But they had dwindled to less than one fourth of their original number through the departure of some and the death of others. If fear of the Acadians had ever been warranted, it seemed absurd by that time, when only 210 remained, and of this small residue only 42 were men. Moreover, with the new year, war with the Indians ended and with it one of the chief causes of anxiety.

In August, 1763, all the Acadians who were still in South Carolina were about to accept an invitation to settle in the French West Indies, evidently willing to brave the dangers of a sea voyage and of settling in virgin territory rather than remain in South Carolina, despite the protestations of the *Gazette* that they were well used, lived very comfortably, and had been granted a great deal of money. This journal attributed their desire to leave to their strong attachment "to the superstitions of the Romish religion" and said that about three hundred Acadians from Georgia and South Carolina proposed to settle at Cape François, Haiti. Six of their number were ready to depart at once, to give notice of the coming of the others and to prepare for their reception.[54]

But the Acadians had not yet found a permanent home, for on February 18, 1764, the *Gazette* reported that those who had gone to Cape François in the previous November had, soon after their arrival, received allotments of land at Cape Nicola, on the Windward Passage, and were settling at the "Platform", where English vessels passing to and from Jamaica commonly called for water. With perhaps a trace of vindictiveness, the *Gazette* added: "But they are by no means pleased, either with their reception or the situation." The last mention of

[53] July 17, 18, Aug. 4, 1760, *ibid.*

[54] *South Carolina Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1763.

Acadians in this period of South Carolina's history is found in a news item from Philadelphia, published in the *Gazette* on March 9, 1765, stating that five or six hundred Acadians from Nova Scotia and a number from Pennsylvania had likewise gone to Cape Nicola, and commenting, "It is imagined, that many of them will not be able to endure a climate so different from their own".

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THE DIRECTORY AND THE UNITED STATES[1]

The entire period of the Directory—November 2, 1795-November 10, 1799—was marked by bad relations with the United States, a heritage from an earlier stage of the French Revolution. The story of those relations in its broad outline is already known, but it is hoped that the archival material here presented and hitherto unused throws new light on the policy of Talleyrand and the Directory toward the United States.[2]

The main controversies were over neutral rights and America's obligations under the Franco-American alliance of 1778. These might have been settled amicably had it not been for the conclusion by the United States of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. In fact, James Monroe, the American minister in Paris, had induced the dying Convention to repeal its decrees regarding neutrals insofar as they affected the United States.[3] Jay's Treaty produced a new crisis, and the Directory, on assuming office, temporized until it could learn the fate of the treaty and the state of opinion in the United States.[4]

On December 15, 1795, Joseph Fauchet, minister to the United States, who had recently returned to France, presented a seventy-page memoir on the United States to the Directory. This document was the basis of the government's policy in succeeding months. Jay's Treaty had been approved by the Senate before Fauchet's departure, but he believed that France could induce the House of Representatives to refuse the necessary appropriations for putting it in force, provided vigorous measures were taken at once. Hitherto France had failed to co-operate with her friends in the United States; she should work with them in a manner pleasing to their dignity, avoiding the appeal to a faction which Genêt had made. The Directory should concentrate on replacing

[1] A paper read at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Nashville, Tennessee, on November 21, 1936.

[2] Few historians have cared to say a good word for the Directory, but two recent works of distinction take a favorable view of the regime: Georges Lefebvre, Raymond Guyot, and Philippe Sagnac, *La Révolution française* (Paris, 1930); Crane Brinton, *A Decade of Revolution, 1789-99* (New York, 1934).

[3] S. F. Bemis, "Washington's Farewell Address, a Foreign Policy of Independence", *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (1934), 254-55.

[4] The standard work on the foreign policy of the Directory is Raymond Guyot, *Le Directoire et la paix de l'Europe* (Paris, 1911). This pays very little attention, however, to American affairs.

Washington with a President more favorable to French interests, preferably Jefferson. If Jay's Treaty could not be blocked and Jefferson could not be elected President, France would have to resign herself to the situation. She could not afford to withdraw the wartime trading privileges which the Americans enjoyed in her colonies. According to Fauchet, the only way of rendering France permanently independent of the United States lay in the acquisition of a continental colony, preferably Louisiana, which would check the Americans and also feed the sugar islands.[5] Fauchet's advice was in line with the counsel and action of Monroe, who assured the Directory that Jay's Treaty would never be ratified and led France to expect a Republican victory in the presidential election of 1796.[6] Pierre Auguste Adet, who had reluctantly succeeded Fauchet, failed, however, to block the treaty. Charles Delacroix, the French foreign minister, wrote to Monroe on June 25, 1796, asking if the reports of the ratification of Jay's Treaty appearing in the press were true.[7]

The Directory faced a crucial decision in its relations with the United States. For a moment there was danger of war, but the militant group was overborne by Barras, La Revellière-Lépeaux, and Reubell, the last of whom dominated the foreign policy of the Directory at this time.[8] Retaliatory commercial measures were taken against the United States by a decree of July 2, 1796, stating that France would treat neutral vessels "either as to confiscation, as to searches, or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them".[9] On July 7 Delacroix told Monroe that the Directory had seen in Jay's Treaty "a derogation of the friendship which unites the United States and the Republic, and in those stipulations which concern the neutrality of the flag, an abandon of the tacit engagement which existed between the two countries on this point since the Treaty of Commerce of 1778".[10]

The French argument was not without some justification. Jay's

[5] "Mémoire sur les États-Unis d'Amérique", 24 frimaire, an IV [Dec. 15, 1795], Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, États-Unis, vol. 44, ff. 457-527, photostats in the Library of Congress, hereafter referred to as A.A.E., États-Unis. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Carl L. Lokke of the National Archives, who lent me a manuscript copy of his forthcoming edition of this memoir.

[6] Bemis, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 254-60.

[7] Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.

[8] *Mémoires de La Revellière Lépeaux* (Paris, 1895), II, 258-60; A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 51, f. 217; Guyot, pp. 53, 68-70.

[9] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 577, hereafter referred to as *A.S.P., For. Rel.*

[10] Monroe Papers.

Treaty ignored the principle of "free ships, free goods" and greatly extended the list of contraband articles. The way was left open for paper blockades. These measures "were in some sense incompatible with the Franco-American treaty of 1778 but not a violation of it".[11]

Two phases may be discerned in the Directory's subsequent relations with the United States, the first lasting until the spring of 1798. In this period France endeavored to secure her interests in America by supporting the pro-French Republican party. Responsibility for this unwise procedure lay with the Republican leaders as well as with the Directory and its minister, Adet, who looked upon the Federalists as being completely devoted to Great Britain.[12]

The Directory sought the defeat of Washington, assuming that he would offer himself for a third term.[13] Adet's functions were suspended, a fact which he announced in the hope of influencing the presidential election of 1796. Delacroix wrote to Monroe that ordinary relations under the conventions and treaties would be maintained, with the consuls remaining in charge, and expressed the hope that "the clouds, which cast a gloom on our alliance" would speedily be dispelled.[14] Events in the United States, however, destroyed the Directory's nice plan of chastising the Federalists. John Adams was elected President, and Washington recalled Monroe on the very proper ground that he was representing the sentiments of the Republicans rather than the views of the administration.[15]

Monroe's successor, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, was a "Federalist of the conservative state-rights group . . . never a partisan".[16] His sentiments were not anti-French, even Adet admitted this, and the Directory would have found him an amenable negotiator had they given him a chance. Adet unfortunately advised against dealing with Pinckney in terms which illustrate his baneful influence on Franco-American relations:

> You know that their protestations of friendship are false and that their caresses are faithless. You will recall that in our misfortunes they have

[11] S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1936), p. 103.

[12] Bernard Faÿ, *Revolutionary Spirit in France and America* (New York, 1927), p. 369; Albert J. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1916), II, 223. Adet's dispatches are edited by F. J. Turner, *Correspondence of French Ministers to the United States, 1791-97*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1903, vol. II.

[13] Bemis, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 265.

[14] *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, I, 745.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 741-42; Secretary of State Pickering to Monroe, Aug. 22, 1796, Monroe Papers.

[16] Article by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

insulted and betrayed us and that, if today they pay the Republic a too just tribute of admiration, if they appear to share as friends its success and triumphs, fear alone dictates a language that their hearts deny.[17]

Louis-Guillaume Otto, formerly chargé d'affaires in the United States, characterized Monroe's recall as "the most unpardonable . . . of all the many political blunders, made on both sides the Atlantic these six years past".[18]

Monroe and Pinckney called on Delacroix on the afternoon of December 9. The minister, at first reserved, soon "unbent and behaved with civility", and Pinckney departed in the belief that he would be received without difficulty. But he was not destined to see the foreign minister again. Delacroix announced to Monroe on December 11 that the Directory would "no longer recognize nor receive a minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after a reparation of the grievances demanded of the American government and which the French Republic has a right to expect".[19] In taking leave of Monroe the Directory severely rebuked the American government.[20] Delacroix revealed the motive for this action in a letter of January 3, 1797, to Adet.[21] Washington was accused of recalling Monroe only to discredit him and the Republicans. Recognition of Pinckney, therefore, would have meant concurrence in the President's views. The Directory proposed to win its point in America by dividing the nation and seeking to separate the people from their government. On January 24 Pinckney was ordered to leave France.[22]

The Directory soon made a flagrant violation of the Treaty of 1778 by issuing a decree on March 2, 1797, which abandoned the principle of "free ships, free goods". Henceforth enemy goods on neutral ships were subject to seizure, and Americans serving under an enemy flag were to be treated as pirates. Furthermore American vessels were to be deemed lawful prizes if they did not "have on board a list of the crew [*rôle d'équipage*] in proper form, such as is prescribed by the model annexed to the treaty of the 6th of February, 1778".[23] Though apparently in conformity to the Franco-American Treaty, this was in reality a violation of its spirit. American vessels did not customarily carry the particular papers demanded, and France had never before enforced this

[17] To Delacroix, Oct. 3, 1796, A.H.A., *An. Rep.*, 1903, II, 950-52.

[18] To Monroe, Lesches, Département de Seine et Marne, Mar. 20, 1797, Monroe Papers.

[19] *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, I, 746-47. For Pinckney's correspondence see II, 6-10.

[20] *Ibid.*, I, 747. [21] A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 47, ff. 5-6.

[22] *Ibid.*, f. 38. [23] *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, II, 31.

provision of the treaty. Under this and the preceding decrees American shipping losses in Europe and the West Indies amounted to $12,149,306.10 between 1793 and 1800.[24] The greater part of this damage occurred during the period of the Directory.

The Directory was content to pursue its haughty policy since it lost little by the existing situation, and it did not believe the United States would declare war.[25] France planned to await overtures of conciliation from the American government. Letombe, the French consul general in Philadelphia, who took over Adet's functions in May, 1797, informed Adams and Jefferson that France did not intend a rupture and that all could be put right if America would send a minister whose character guaranteed a change of attitude toward France.[26]

On the advice of his Cabinet President Adams decided to accept the French invitation and nominated a commission of three. The choice fell on Pinckney, now in Holland, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, the first two Southern Federalists, the last a Massachusetts Republican. These appointments proved unfortunate. Pinckney's rancor at his previous treatment handicapped the mission from the beginning; Marshall's legal mind was better suited to the bench than to diplomacy;[27] and Gerry's irresolution offered France a chance to divide the mission.[28] His Republicanism made him acceptable to the French government but suspect to his colleagues.

The suspension of diplomatic relations with the United States did not pass without a challenge from the opposition in the Five Hundred and the Ancients, the two houses of the French legislature. In France, as in the United States, a bitter conflict was waging between the factions. The elections of 1797, which renewed a third of the legislative bodies, were an overwhelming victory for the moderate, conservative group which opposed the Directory's American policy. Allied with this group were Directors Carnot and Barthélemy, and among their number in the Ancients was François Barbé-Marbois, later destined to be Napoleon's negotiator in the sale of Louisiana. This group, led by Pastoret, denounced the Directory for violating the French constitu-

[24] Bemis, *Diplomatic History*, pp. 114-15.

[25] Delacroix to Adet, Apr. 1, 1797, to Letombe, July 13, 1797, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 47, f. 221, vol. 48, ff. 41-42.

[26] *Ibid.*, vol. 47, f. 383.

[27] See the stout defense of his conduct in Beveridge, Volume II. This is the best and most detailed account of the mission.

[28] S. E. Morison, "Elbridge Gerry, Gentleman, Democrat", *New England Quarterly*, II (1929), 3-33.

tion by producing a state of aggression against the United States without consulting the legislature. Pastoret defended the United States against the charge of violating her treaties and predicted an Anglo-American alliance as a result of the Directory's policy.[29]

The legislative opposition brought a crisis in the history of the Directory. The constitution did not provide a means of avoiding a deadlock, and the executive decided to use force. The coup d'état of 18 fructidor destroyed the moderates; Carnot fled, Barthélemy was deported, 198 seats in the legislature were declared vacant, and 18 members were deported to Guiana. This was the first step in the surrender of France to a military dictatorship. The summer and autumn of 1797 mark a turning point in the history of the Directory both at home and abroad. Bonaparte made the Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria and chained France to a program of expansion in Italy which made a continental peace impossible.[30] The negotiations at Lille for peace with England broke down. Thus the maritime war continued and with it the depredations on American shipping.

A political crisis in July, 1797, had brought Talleyrand to the ministry of foreign affairs in place of Delacroix. The ex-bishop of Autun now entered upon his remarkable career at the foreign office, which, except for a brief interval in 1799, was to last until his estrangement from Napoleon and his voluntary resignation in 1807.[31] He had only recently returned from the United States, where his appointment was hailed as marking a new era in Franco-American relations.[32] But high expectation soon turned to bitter disappointment.

The American envoys were commissioned to treat concerning all differences between the two republics. Compensation for losses sustained by American citizens was not to be regarded as "an indispensable condition of the proposed treaty". The United States would gladly alter the Treaty of Commerce of 1778 and thus give France the maritime privileges accorded Great Britain by Jay's Treaty. The United States also offered to renounce the reciprocal guarantees of the

[29] "Motion d'Ordre D'Émm. Pastoret sur l'état actuel de nos rapports politiques et commerciaux avec les États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, Séance du 2 messidor [June 20, 1797], A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 47, ff. 419-31[v].

[30] Guyot, pp. 367-68; Lefebvre, Guyot, and Sagnac, pp. 348-49.

[31] For an interpretation of his relations with Napoleon see E. Dard, *Napoléon et Talleyrand* (Paris, 1935).

[32] Fulwar Skipwith, the American consul general in Paris, was pleased by Talleyrand's appointment. See his letter to Talleyrand, July 20, 1797, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 48, f. 117.

Franco-American alliance concerning American independence and the French West Indies.[33]

The documents prepared for the French foreign office in anticipation of the negotiations breathed an air of conciliation and justice. Otto surveyed Franco-American relations since 1789 in a remarkable paper.[34] Delacroix's mistaken conduct was ascribed to his subordinates. All the difficulties between the two countries had arisen from the false idea that there was a division between the people and the government of the United States. He analyzes the party situation:

> Our agents wished to see only two political parties in the United States, the French party and the English party; but there is a middle party, much larger, composed of the most estimable men of the two other parties. This party, whose existence we have not even suspected, is the American party which loves its country above all and for whom preferences either for France or England are only accessory and often passing affections.[35]

Otto thought that if France again failed to treat with the United States her conduct would be both unwise and unjust. About the same time the ministry informed the Directory that Congress had replied to the failure to receive Pinckney by two resolutions, one placing France on the same basis as England regarding neutrality, the other demanding an indemnity for American losses from infraction of her rights as a neutral power.[36]

In his early communications Talleyrand likewise showed a conciliatory spirit. If the American ministers were empowered to treat on "bases compatible with the dignity of the Republic and its interests the differences will be speedily terminated". Southern resentment over the failure to receive Pinckney disturbed the minister a good deal, but he felt reassured about the East.[37] Adet had now returned, and his report, though distrustful of the United States, urged the reception of the envoys and a frank negotiation, since a lasting settlement was to the interest of France.[38] The government thought the negotiations would proceed along three lines: the cessation of depredations at sea, indemnities due for prizes taken by French corsairs, and a permanent arrange-

[33] *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, II, 153-57.

[34] "Considérations sur la conduite du Gouvernement des États-Unis envers la France depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1797", messidor, an 5 [June 19-July 18, 1797], par M. Otto, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 47, ff. 401-18^{v}.

[35] *Ibid.*, f. 414^{v}.

[36] "Note pour le Directoire", June 26, 1797, *ibid.*, ff. 459-60^{v}.

[37] Talleyrand to Letombe, Aug. 4, Sept. 1, 1797, *ibid.*, vol. 48, ff. 152, 214.

[38] Sept. 22, 1797 (received Oct. 13), *ibid.*, ff. 258-64.

ment on questions concerning the two nations. France should not stop her corsairs as long as Jay's Treaty was in force, but she could give up the demand for the *rôle d'équipage*. Payment of the indemnities could be adjourned indefinitely by erecting a special commission to deal with them.[39] France must assert that Jay's Treaty gave her the same rights at sea as those enjoyed by Great Britain, for if she treated on the basis of the Treaty of 1778 she would have to pay for all goods and ships seized.[40] Yet one ominous note appeared. Hauterive, formerly consul at New York, outlined a policy much like that which Talleyrand eventually followed. The negotiations should be drawn out, the discussions infrequent and private, the prospects of settlement remote. He represented the respective governments as having little at stake. It was a question concerning only the American shippers and the ministers who were furious at having their servility to England exposed.[41]

Rarely has a great nation heaped such indignities on the emissaries of a friendly power as those which Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry now endured. Talleyrand, it is true, received them unofficially on October 8, 1797, and stated that a report was being prepared for the Directory on American affairs.[42] When that was completed the negotiations could proceed. But weeks went by without further progress. Talleyrand saw the envoys only unofficially, and the Directory failed to receive them. Mysterious agents called upon them suggesting a $250,000 bribe for Talleyrand and the Directors, a loan to France, and an indemnity for Adams's speech to Congress on May 15. These were the *sine qua non* of the negotiations.[43]

The envoys, aware of the prevailing custom in Paris, were willing to consider a payment to Talleyrand after a treaty had been signed, but not before. They offered to send one of their number to confer with President Adams regarding a loan, provided the Directory would cease depredations at sea and would open negotiations with the other two plenipotentiaries. These concessions, however, were not enough to secure the reception of the envoys by the Directory. Months of intrigue and uncertainty followed, with the Americans showing an almost unbelievable forbearance. The unofficial interviews and propositions of

[39] "Objets qui doivent entrer dans la négociation qui va s'ouvrir avec les États-Unis", Oct. 2, 1797, *ibid.*, ff. 278-83^{v}.

[40] "Négociations avec les États-Unis", undated but obviously written early in October, 1797, *ibid.*, ff. 284-86^{v}.

[41] To Adet, New York, July 2, 1797, *ibid.*

[42] American Envoys to Talleyrand, Nov. 11, 1797, *ibid.*, f. 351.

[43] The envoys' dispatches are to be found in *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, II, 157-82, 185-99.

Talleyrand's agents became the infamous "X. Y. Z. Affair" of American history.

So far as relates to the American envoys, there is a gap in the French archives from October, 1797, to January, 1798. Either the papers were destroyed by Talleyrand or, more likely, the intrigues were never committed to paper. Despite Gerry's defense,[44] there seems no reason for doubting Talleyrand's implication in this corruption. Love of money was his besetting vice, and his latest biographers consider him guilty in the "X. Y. Z. Affair".[45]

After three months of indignity and inaction, Marshall persuaded his colleagues to present a comprehensive survey of the American position.[46] This famous paper was primarily a defense of Jay's Treaty and an exposé of its necessity for the United States.[47] The tone was spirited but friendly. Contrary to Beveridge's assumption, the paper was read very carefully in the foreign office, and it opened a series of documents on American affairs.[48]

Talleyrand's report on Marshall's memorial stamps him unmistakably as the author of the Directory's policy regarding the envoys. This was the first official communication to the executive on the United States since early October, and it served as a summary of the past and a program for the future. Talleyrand states that he had suggested an indemnity for Adams's speech. As this could hardly be arranged by normal diplomatic channels he had proposed a loan to France to be paid by purchasing the depreciated bonds of the Batavian Republic at face value. He had further suggested purchase of part of the bond issue floated in France for prosecuting the war with England. On larger questions he felt it desirable to make a permanent settlement with the United States, but only after chastising her as vigorously as possible. The only real difficulty came over the spoliation of American commerce under the Directory's decrees of July 2, 1796, and March 2, 1797. America was now at France's knees, and the latter had amply avenged herself during the past two years:[49]

> I have operated on the principle that the Directory did not wish to carry things to extremities and that it would be impossible even with a

[44] Morison, *New Eng. Quar.*, II, 27.

[45] G. Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand*, I (Paris, 1928), 236; Crane Brinton, *The Lives of Talleyrand* (New York, 1936), pp. 108-109; Guyot, p. 563, takes the same view.

[46] Beveridge, II, 296.

[47] Jan. 17, 1798, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, ff. 10-63^{v}; *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, II, 169-82.

[48] Beveridge, II, 310. There is a summary of the memoir prepared for ministerial use in A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, ff. 139-43.

[49] Pluviôse, an 6 [Jan. 20-Feb. 18, 1798], A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, ff. 174-87^{v}.

declaration of war to avenge ourselves on the American government more than we have done. I have elsewhere had occasion to develop the motives which would invite us to prevent a forced rupture which would inevitably throw the United States into the arms of England.[50]

He characterized the personnel of the American mission as boding the worst for its success. Pinckney and Marshall were Federalists, and the former was incensed over the previous refusal to receive him. Talleyrand requested permission to pass over these two and to deal with Gerry alone.[51] He argued that this was possible since the Americans were accredited, "jointly and severally, envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary".[52] The Directory approved Talleyrand's conduct and adopted his plan *in toto*.[53] France would recognize her debts in the United States and pay damages for American ships and goods seized before Jay's Treaty, and measures should be taken to iron out the defects in the treaties between the two nations.

At last, on March 18, 1798, the American envoys received an answer to their memorial of January 17.[54] This was a propaganda document really addressed to the American people, whom the Directory hoped to separate from the Federalist administration. A copy was sent to Letombe with instructions to give it all possible publicity.[55] The United States was accused of violating the Treaties of 1778 and the Consular Convention of 1788, and Jay's Treaty was cited as evidence of the government's predilection for Great Britain. Bad relations had been prolonged by sending envoys whose opinions were known to be hostile to France, while only friendly ministers were sent to Great Britain. The American people, as well as the French, must regret the state of affairs brought about by the government of the United States. The Directory would negotiate with that envoy, Gerry, who was most friendly to France.

Talleyrand's demand for money and the indignation it occasioned in the United States have obscured the real significance of his conduct. His policy was one of peace, and he realized fully the danger to French interests from a war with the United States. He had dared to keep the American commissioners dangling in Paris for months because he did not believe that delay and failure to receive them would involve a

[50] *Ibid.*, f. 184v. [51] *Ibid.*, f. 186. [52] *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, II, 153.

[53] In the margin is written: "Ces bases ont été adoptées et c'est d'après elles qu'a été rédigé l'office du 28 Ventôse" [Mar. 18, 1798]. A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, ff. 174-87v.

[54] *Ibid.*, ff. 235-40.

[55] Marginal note on the dispatch. Bache was arrested for printing this letter in the *Aurora*. Letombe to Talleyrand, Philadelphia, June 29, 1798, *ibid.*, f. 462.

rupture. Reports from America indicated that the Republicans were gaining ground. Letombe reported that Jefferson had told him that the Directory would gain *"le haut du pavé"* by temporizing.[56] Is it then surprising that Talleyrand should have considered it possible to delay the negotiations, divide the mission, and discredit the President? He did not believe that the United States, outside of New England, was alarmed. He encouraged the Republicans by writing that there would be no declaration of war by France even if the envoys returned without a treaty.[57]

Though denounced by his colleagues, Gerry remained, but he agreed only "to confer informally and unaccredited on any subject respecting our mission and communicate to the government of the United States the result of such conferences, being in my individual capacity unauthorized to give them an official stamp".[58] Talleyrand offered him all the courtesies hitherto withheld.[59] Gerry's conduct aroused a storm of protest at home, but in dealing with the Directory he looked to no personal or party advantage. He was honestly convinced that his departure would mean a rupture with France.[60] His pliancy was not so great as Talleyrand anticipated, but he would have served the minister's purpose well enough had not a wave of indignation in America threatened to force a declaration of war.

The publication of the envoys' dispatches by the American government inaugurated the second phase of the Directory's relations with the United States. Talleyrand, the indifferent, became an apostle of peace, an enthusiast for a liquidation of all issues between the sister republics. He prepared an elaborate refutation of the envoys' letters and published it unsigned in the Parisian press, characterizing elsewhere his own remarks as follows:

> They seem to me to be within the bounds of the moderation we should display; they are not too offensive to Mr. Gerry of whom we are desirous of making use, but severe enough against his colleagues; they are very nettling to Mr. Adams, whose liberticide policy they unmask, as a whole encouraging for our friends in America. I believe that this was required. Moreover, the refutation is complete.[61]

[56] Letombe to Talleyrand, Jan. 17, 1798, *ibid.*, f. 145.

[57] Beveridge, II, 335.

[58] To Talleyrand, Apr. 4, 1798, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, ff. 293-94.

[59] Talleyrand to Gerry, Apr. 3, 1798, *ibid.*, f. 292.

[60] Morison, *New Eng. Quar.*, II, 23; Gerry to his wife, Mar. 26, 1798, quoted by Morison, *ibid.*, p. 26.

[61] Talleyrand to Barras, May 29, 1798, G. Duruy, ed., *Mémoires de Barras* (4 vols., Paris, 1895), III, 270-71. Bernard Faÿ (p. 426) says that the treatment of the American commissioners caused considerable criticism in Paris.

In the long report which he submitted to the Directory the elaborate defense of his conduct is ample proof that the demands for money were his own.[62] In his resentment he assailed the Federal authorities: "One sees the last effort of the British Cabinet and of the men who are at the head of the American government to provoke the resentment of the Directory whose moderation should be better known."[63] He blamed the commissioners for the failure of the negotiations, writing that it was "not easy to make use of the negotiators who, angered at not being received officially, neglected the opportunity of meetings in society and nowhere presented themselves to the minister".[64]

Talleyrand counted a great deal on the good effect that the publication of his letter of March 18 would produce in the United States. Letombe was instructed to assure France's friends in Congress and especially Jefferson that France would not be tricked into war with America. "The Executive Directory", he wrote, "is always disposed to discuss amicably the questions in dispute between the United States and the Republic".[65]

France had everything to lose and nothing to gain from a war with the United States. The safety of her commerce, the future of her colonies, and the interests of her allies dictated a policy of peace. With her own ships swept from the seas, she was largely dependent upon the American merchant marine for maintenance of her commerce. This would be doubly true if Russia should join England, as she did in January, 1799, and close the Baltic, whence France drew naval stores.[66] American ships also brought tobacco, an important source of government revenue. The cessation of trade with the United States would close a rich market to French wines, *eaux-de-vie*, vinegar, ribbons, silks, linens, and porcelains.[67] The French colonies in the West Indies were so dependent on the Yankee merchant that the rupture of commercial relations with France and her dependencies, voted by Congress on June 13, 1798, was a very serious blow to the sugar colonies. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Negro chieftain of Saint-Domingue, appealed in his

[62] Rapport au Directoire Exécutif, May 31, 1798, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, ff. 393-404.

[63] *Ibid.*, f. 393.

[64] *Ibid.*, f. 401.

[65] June 9, 1798, *ibid.*, ff. 434-35.

[66] "De notre intérêt relativement aux États-Unis de l'Amérique", messidor, an 6 [June 19-July 18, 1798], *ibid.*, vol. 50, ff. 66-67v.

[67] "Extrait du mémoire du Cen. Hauteval sur les États-Unis d'Amérique", *ibid.*, ff. 118-19v; "Mémoire sur les États-Unis, considerés dans leurs rapports avec la France", *ibid.*, ff. 270-84v.

distress to President Adams, who reopened trade with certain ports of the island on August 1, 1799.[68]

Since 1796 France had been allied with Spain. A war with the United States would jeopardize the shipping and colonial interests of the Spanish Empire, which France was coming to regard as her own. It would render Louisiana open to an attack by the American frontiersmen. Desire to protect Louisiana was an important factor in shaping Talleyrand's conduct, for the Directory had sought to secure retrocession of the territory from Spain, who had held it since 1763.[69] Talleyrand cherished the project of creating a great colonial empire in the heart of the Mississippi Valley and in the West Indies. Letombe now alarmed him by reports of projected Anglo-American attacks on the Spanish Empire, with Louisiana and the Floridas as the United States' share of the plunder.[70]

The Franco-American dispute threatened economic ruin to the Netherlands, now organized as the Batavian Republic and bound to France by an offensive and defensive alliance. This is a point which has escaped the attention of scholars almost completely. The very prospect of such a struggle filled Dutch burghers with dismay. With their commerce destroyed and their colonies in English hands, the trade of the United States was one of their few remaining sources of profit.[71] Under the stimulus of the European war this business had increased from $3,169,536 in 1793 to $8,845,486 in 1797.[72] William Vans Murray, the American minister at The Hague, thought the Dutch would plead with France to allow them to remain neutral in the Franco-American conflict.[73]

The news from America in the summer of 1798 was more and more alarming. The X. Y. Z. dispatches gave the Federalist party a new

[68] *Ibid.*, vol. 51, ff. 226-26^{v}. Numerous memoirs concerning American relations with Santo Domingo in 1798 and 1799 are to be found in volumes 50 and 51.

[69] E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804* (Norman, 1934), pp. 79-98.

[70] Letombe to Talleyrand, June 29, Nov. 18, 1798, Apr. 5, 1799, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 49, f. 463^{v}; vol. 50, ff. 285-86^{v}; vol. 51, ff. 116-17; Rozier, consul at New York, to Talleyrand, June 30, 1798, *ibid.*, vol. 49, f. 466.

[71] "Rough Sketches of a few of the reasons why it is not the interest of France that Holland should join in the war if the United States and France go to war at present", *ibid.*, vol. 50, ff. 61-65^{v}; minister of the Batavian Republic to Talleyrand, July 26, 1798, *ibid.*, ff. 128-29^{v}.

[72] Rozier to Talleyrand, *ibid.*, f. 390. These figures were taken from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

[73] To Adams, Apr. 3, 1798, W. C. Ford, ed., "Letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams", A.H.A., *An. Rep.*, 1912, p. 391.

lease of life, and every possible partisan advantage was extracted from them. Congress responded to the excitement by authorizing public and private vessels to seize *armed* French vessels as legitimate prizes. All treaties with France were abrogated, and commercial intercourse between the two countries was suspended.[74] Talleyrand, admitting that "this state of things does not resemble peace", asked Bruix, the minister of the navy and colonies, what should be done. Bruix gave his opinion on the same day in a letter to the Directory: "We should order our warships and privateers to pursue the ships of this ungrateful and treacherous nation." [75]

Such advice made little appeal to Talleyrand, who was ready to make humiliating concessions to keep the United States from throwing herself into the arms of England. He pleaded with Gerry to remain, and in a lengthy memoir thoroughly examined the disputes between the two countries. Could not Gerry ask for the requisite powers to conclude a treaty and prevent the danger to both countries which a war would involve? [76] Gerry was conciliatory but insisted on returning to America, where he thought he could help to allay the storm.[77] Talleyrand, desperate, determined to hold him in Paris. He wrote:

> Did you not come, Monsieur, to re-establish amity between the two republics and determined to spare nothing to attain this end equally desirable for the United States and France? Can you leave after what has happened at Philadelphia? Should you leave when the French government, superior to all resentment and heeding only justice, shows itself anxious to conclude an accord solid and mutually satisfactory? . . . . I cannot reconcile your language with the avowed object of your mission, with your plenipotentiary powers, and with the assurances you do not cease to give of the sincerity of your government.[78]

Gerry's letter of July 1 is indicative of the methods Talleyrand used to detain the American minister in Paris. "My frequent applications for a passport, letter of safe conduct for the vessel, & her exemption from the embargo at Havre have been altogether unnoticed." [79]

Talleyrand varied his tactics. Since Gerry did not agree with him as to the extent of his powers, what harm could there be in preparing the basis for negotiations which, after all, must be ratified by the American government? Why not refer the question of Gerry's powers to

[74] For a summary of these acts see Bemis, *Diplomatic History*, p. 118.
[75] July 11, 1798, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 50, ff. 30-31^{v}, 57.
[76] Talleyrand to Gerry, June 18, 1798, *ibid.*, vol. 49, ff. 445-50^{v}.
[77] Gerry to Talleyrand, June 22, 25, *ibid.*, ff. 451-52^{v}, 454.
[78] Talleyrand to Gerry, June 27, *ibid.*, f. 459^{v}.
[79] Gerry to Talleyrand, July 1, *ibid.*, vol. 50, f. 4.

Philadelphia?[80] At least he should not leave until he was recalled. Talleyrand told Gerry frankly that his departure would be interpreted by the British as a final rupture between France and the United States.

On July 22, 1798, Talleyrand made a final effort to alter Gerry's position:

> Information which it has just received apprizes the Directory that violence has been committed on the commerce and the citizens of the United States in the Antilles and on their coasts. Render it the justice to believe that it needs only to know these facts in order to disavow all acts contrary to the laws of the Republic and its decrees.[81]

When this failed, Talleyrand entrusted Gerry with further assurances of friendship and facilitated his sailing to carry the good news home.[82] All their correspondence was forwarded to Letombe for publication in America.[83] At home Gerry was reviled unmercifully for his servility to a corrupt regime. The country might more properly have deplored his failure to go all the way and make a treaty. Such favorable circumstances for the United States never occurred again in the period of the Directory.

The news of violence against American shipping, to which Talleyrand alluded in his letter to Gerry, came from a report of Victor Du Pont, who arrived at Bordeaux on July 3.[84] The eldest son of Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, the famous physiocrat, he had been appointed consul general in place of the failing Letombe, but President Adams refused to grant him an exequatur. Talleyrand wrote Du Pont on July 16 asking about the acts of French corsairs in the Antilles, the proceedings of colonial tribunals and of consuls in the United States regarding prizes, and the execution of French measures against neutrals in regard to the Americans.[85] Du Pont's answer redoubled Talleyrand's zeal to negotiate with the United States:

> It appears that the Directory does not yet know that their excesses (the conduct of our corsairs) have been beyond limit and also contrary to the principles of justice as well as sane policy. . . . One could make volumes of the collection of acts of violence, of brigandage, of piracy committed by French cruisers, or under the French flag, in American waters, principally directed against American commerce, and which, far from being repressed

[80] Talleyrand to Gerry, July 6, 12, *ibid.*, ff. 19-20^{v}, 51-54^{v}.

[81] *Ibid.*, ff. 113-13^{v}.

[82] Talleyrand to the minister of the navy and colonies, Aug. 16, *ibid.*, f. 79.

[83] Talleyrand to Letombe, July 26, *ibid.*, f. 126.

[84] To Talleyrand, July 21, *ibid.*, ff. 99-106, printed by S. E. Morison, "Du Pont, Talleyrand and the French Spoliations", Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XLIX (1915-16), 63-79.

[85] A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 50, f. 68.

by agents of the Republic at Saint-Domingue and Guadeloupe have nearly always been excited or protected by them.[86]

While it has been generally assumed that Talleyrand and the Directory were well aware of these unsavory facts, it is doubtful if this is true. Certainly Du Pont did not think so. Letombe contended that the real situation in the West Indies was unknown at Paris, and that Du Pont's report was made at his suggestion.[87] It should also be observed that the bureaucracy was disorganized and to a degree corrupt. Du Pont thought that the majority of employees at the ports and in the maritime service desired a war with the United States, for hostilities would furnish them free rein in pillaging American commerce.[88] Talleyrand frequently complained of the improper execution of decrees.[89]

The procedure Du Pont proposed to Talleyrand had Jefferson's approval. Du Pont had had an interview with the Vice-President, who urged conciliation by France as the only means of saving the Republican party. He suggested that France recall all the commissions to corsairs in the Antilles, revise the decrees of which neutrals complained, and let the United States know that the Directory would treat with a mission sent to Paris, Holland, or Spain.[90] Talleyrand followed this program to the letter.[91] On July 31 the government revoked all commissions issued to corsairs in the Antilles and ordered the recall of any judge suspected of direct or indirect interest in pillaging commerce.[92] A copy of this decree was sent to Gerry before his departure, also a copy to Fulwar Skipwith, the American consul general, with the wish that "the conduct of the Federal government should correspond to that of the Directory. In this case amicable relations between the two peoples should soon be re-established."[93] France also lifted the temporary embargo imposed on American vessels as retaliation for the acts of Congress and repealed that part of the decree of March 2, 1797, requiring the *rôle d'équipage*.[94]

[86] Morison, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLIX, 66-67.

[87] To Pickering, Philadelphia, Jan. 29, 1799, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 51, f. 193.

[88] Du Pont to Talleyrand, Aug. 13, 1798, *ibid.*, vol. 50, ff. 162-63^{v}.

[89] Talleyrand to the minister of the navy and colonies, July 24, 1798, *ibid.*, f. 132; Rapport au Directoire Exécutif, July 27, 1798, *ibid.*, ff. 131-31^{v}.

[90] Morison, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLIX, 72.

[91] Report to the Directory, July 27, 1798, *ibid.*, pp. 76-78; A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 50, ff. 131-31^{v}.

[92] Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Directory, July 31, 1798, *ibid.*, ff. 138-38^{v}.

[93] Aug. 6, *ibid.*, f. 150.

[94] Decree of Aug. 16, 1798, *ibid.*, f. 167; vol. 51, f. 78.

Talleyrand's desire for peace did not permit him to stop at this point. Louis André Pichon, formerly with Fauchet in America and later a secretary in the foreign office, was sent as secretary to the French legation at The Hague with special instructions to cultivate the acquaintance of William Vans Murray, the American minister. Murray was a Maryland Federalist and an intimate friend of John Quincy Adams whom he succeeded at The Hague. The Murray-Pichon interviews, which began on June 26 and lasted until mid-September, were kept secret from the French minister at The Hague. At first Murray was very indignant at the Directory, but in succeeding weeks his wrath cooled perceptibly.[95] As all hope of treating with Gerry faded, Talleyrand instructed Pichon to emphasize France's pacific intentions.[96] Murray was surprised to discover that France had really offered to treat with Gerry. He told Pichon that Talleyrand had mistaken his man and that negotiations should have been carried on with Marshall. By August 1, Murray promised to write to America in the sense of Talleyrand's notes, suggesting the sending of a new plenipotentiary to France.[97] Two weeks later Talleyrand wrote to Pichon:

> Continue unostentatiously to see Mr. Murray and endeavor to learn the views of his own government as well as to convince him of the good dispositions of the French government. It is important to make some impression on the men devoted to the administration of Mr. Adams and to make them doubt at least the justice of the measures he continues to enact in the Legislative Body of the United States.[98]

The growing friendliness of Murray led Talleyrand to hope for a similar development of opinion in America. On August 28 he sent Pichon a letter to be shown to Murray, who was to be permitted to retain a copy on condition that he would keep it secret from everybody except President Adams. In it Talleyrand stressed the economic and commercial rivalry of America and Great Britain. On the other hand he saw "no clash of interests, no motive of jealousy between France and the United States". What then was the cause of the misunderstanding?

> The government of the United States believed that France wished to revolutionize it; France believed that the government of the United States wished to throw itself into the arms of England. Let us substitute calm for passion, confidence for suspicion and soon we will be in accord.

Though Murray, realizing that the nomination of a new minister would

[95] Pichon to Talleyrand, The Hague, June 26, 1798, *ibid.*, vol. 49, ff. 455-58^{v}; Murray to Adams, July 3, 20, 1798, A. H. A., *An. Rep.*, 1912, pp. 426-27, 437-38.

[96] Talleyrand to Pichon, July 9, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 50, ff. 24-24^{v}.

[97] Pichon to Talleyrand, The Hague, July 18, Aug. 1, *ibid.*, ff. 81-88^{v}, 139-42^{v}.

[98] Aug. 15, *ibid.*, f. 166.

be embarrassing to the United States, had suggested opening negotiations through Dutch mediation, Talleyrand considered such mediation unnecessary and unwise. "Offer your hand to abused friends, that is what one republic owes another."[99] Murray received the letter in a friendly spirit and forwarded a copy of it to the President.[100]

Murray told Pichon that he thought Adams would send another minister if he were given positive assurances that the envoy would be received as "the representative of a free, independent, and powerful nation", the terms the President had laid down in his speech to Congress on June 23, 1798. But Murray did not feel that Talleyrand's letter would be regarded in Philadelphia as sufficient guarantee that Adams's terms would be met. The Dutch authorities now assured him of the Directory's peaceful intentions, and the conversations drew to a successful conclusion.[101] Murray asked Pichon for a specific statement that France would receive any minister the United States might send.[102] Talleyrand, though surprised that any further guarantee was needed, gladly complied.[103]

Talleyrand summarized for the Directory the state of relations with the United States on February 14, 1799, in a document of consummate statesmanship, marred only by his severe, and unjust, criticism of Adams. He thought that the crisis with the United States had been passed in the summer of 1798 and that the assurances given to Gerry and Murray had begun to take effect. The United States he represented as now more occupied with bitter internal strife over the alien and sedition laws than with France. He commended Letombe, Rozier, Jefferson, American travelers in France, and the Spanish ambassador in the United States for their part in securing a more moderate attitude toward France. Talleyrand had learned his lesson about meddling in American politics. Adams's party was breaking up, but Talleyrand thought it would be a mistake to interfere; the birth of a French party would lead inevitably to a British one. *"Il faut laisser faire."* In ending its present difficulties with the United States he counseled the Directory not to prepare new ones.[104]

Talleyrand went on to say that the greatest difficulty now lay with his own countrymen rather than with the American government.

[99] *Ibid.*, ff. 201-202^{v}. Pichon received a covering letter of the same date telling him how to treat with Murray.

[100] Pichon to Talleyrand, Sept. 7, 1798, *ibid.*, ff. 209-10^{v}; *A.S.P., For. Rel.*, II, 241-42.

[101] Pichon to Talleyrand, Sept. 8, 13, A.A.E., États-Unis, vol. 50, ff. 211-16^{v}, 223-34^{v}.

[102] Sept. 23, *ibid.*, ff. 231-32. [103] Talleyrand to Pichon, Sept. 28, *ibid.*, f. 233.

[104] Rapport au Directoire Exécutif, *ibid.*, vol. 51, ff. 40-50.

French nationals ignored the repeal of the Directory's maritime decrees, and there was no change of conduct by the corsairs in Guadeloupe or at Cayenne. The stopping of American vessels in European waters continued as before. Both the French legislative bodies assumed an attitude that served to aggravate the outstanding difficulties with all neutrals, particularly the United States. The Directory had gained time with the United States, and this was valuable. "But", wrote Talleyrand, "the moment will come when justice alone will consummate the work begun, when promises will no longer suffice, when facts will be placed in opposition to promises. The minister can not see without anxiety the future resources which our corsairs leave to the English Cabinet." [105]

The minister's ardent fight for peace had its reward. On February 18, 1799, John Adams, whom he most distrusted, courageously accepted the Directory's offer to reopen the negotiations. Murray received merited recognition as head of the new mission. Associated with him were William R. Davie, best remembered today as the founder of the University of North Carolina and as a former governor of that state, and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, then Chief Justice of the United States. Adams's desire to appoint Murray alone was over-ridden by Federalist opposition in the Senate. This was unfortunate as it occasioned a delay of months in opening the negotiations which eventually led to the Convention of 1800. Talleyrand, on the other hand, did not mind the delay and reported to the Directory that it would not be without some advantage for France.[106] During the summer of 1799 America missed a wonderful opportunity to drive a good bargain. The Second Coalition, consisting of Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, won important victories in Italy, and Bonaparte was stranded in Egypt.

When the envoys reached Paris in March, 1800, a new scene faced them. They had been accredited to the Directory, but the Consulate was now in power. Bonaparte, as First Consul, was the ruler of France. One thing, however, had not changed. Talleyrand, who had resigned in July, 1799, was back at the foreign office. He now resumed the negotiations with the United States where he had left them, pursuing the same policy outlined by the out-going government. Bonaparte inherited a ready-made solution of the controversy.

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[105] *Ibid.*, f. 44[v].

[106] Rapport au Directoire Exécutif, Apr. 10, 1799. Objet du rapport, nomination d'Envoyés de part des États-Unis, *ibid.*, f. 122.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Charles the Second of England

The seventeenth century in England was a period of constitutional and religious strain with such far-reaching consequences for the entire western world that partisans naturally wrote its history for many years. Not until Samuel Rawson Gardiner's great work of the second half of the nineteenth century did any scholar look steadily and with clear vision past both Whig and Tory historians of two centuries.[1] His eighteen volumes, however, stop at 1656, and the late Sir Charles Firth continued them only to the death of Cromwell.[2] The twenty-eight years of the Restoration remain to this day a period in which the amateur historian, the popular biographer, and the romanticist may roam undeterred and unchecked by a recognized guide.

The situation, however, is changing. No Gardiner of the Restoration has arisen, and it is improbable that one will appear. But the last fifteen years have produced scores of scholarly monographs and several good histories, lengthy if not of heroic proportions. The longest is David Ogg's *England in the Reign of Charles II* (2 vols., Oxford, 1934). Others are Keith Feiling's *British Foreign Policy* (London, 1930) and G. N. Clark's *Later Stuarts, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1934), the latter in the promising Oxford History of England series.

Meanwhile Charles II had suddenly become the subject of many biographies which raised him from a state of comfortable infamy to the society of England's greatest. Explanation is not difficult. The World War and its aftermath, like most crises, emphasized leadership. Peoples and parliaments grew dull and colorless compared to the outstanding personality. There arose a new interest in monarchy, somewhat by way of supporting what appeared to be a lost cause. With it came a revived interest in conservative institutions, including Catholicism; and Charles II, however he lived, died a Catholic. The postwar period also

[1] *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-42* (10 vols., 2d rev., London, 1883-84). The first edition had appeared from 1863 to 1882 in five two-volume sets with different titles. *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-49* (3 vols., London, 1886-91; later ed., 4 vols., London, 1893). *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (3 vols., London, 1894-1901; later ed., 4 vols., London, 1903).

[2] *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (2 vols., London, 1909).

caused a relaxing of morals and standards, a dislike of the local and the customary, and a hankering after the exotic and the unusual. On most of these counts Charles II qualified for twentieth century fame.

This recent flood of laudatory biography, unscholarly as it is for the most part, can curiously enough be traced in large measure to the prefaces of a monumental work of scholarly editing. I refer to Dr. William A. Shaw's series of calendars of Treasury Books. The volumes for the reign of Charles II appeared during the years 1904-16. The editing is superb. No cheap apologia will spring directly therefrom. But in lengthy prefaces Dr. Shaw unwisely deserted the role of editor of financial documents and set forth striking generalizations about parliament and Charles II, from which the latter emerged triumphant and almost a patriot king, while parliament, niggard and inefficient, became the villain of the piece. What Dr. Shaw stated in strong but slightly restrained tones and only by way of preface became the central theme of recent biographers. Most of them recognize their debt to him. It is doubtful whether he is proud of his profuse progeny.[3]

Eighteenth century historians tended to disregard Charles II in their emphasis on what preceded and followed. The same, with a few exceptions, may be said of the nineteenth century. Victorians naturally felt uneasy at the lax Restoration court, preferring the deprived Nonconformists and the immortal occupant of the Bedford jail. As late as 1901 Osmund Airy could write for the elaborately illustrated Goupil series of royal biographies a whiggish summary which would have satisfied most periods of the preceding two centuries.[4]

Then came Dr. Shaw's more influential prefaces in 1904-11, and the World War. In 1917 Sir Henry Imbert-Terry portrayed this previously misunderstood monarch as a paragon of constitutional virtue who conformed to the best and noblest in English tradition.[5] Then following the war, with publishers' demands for racy biography, there appeared in rapid succession the following lives of Charles II: Beresford Chancellor's in 1924; John Drinkwater's in 1926; Arthur Dasent's in 1927; David Loth's in 1930; Dennis Wheatley's and John Hayward's, both in 1933.[6] All are interesting, laudatory, or apologetic. Not one is

[3] The prefaces of the later volumes of Dr. Shaw's edition of the calendars, covering the reigns of James II and William and Mary, are of a different sort. For a review of the later volumes see page 611.

[4] *Charles II* (London, 1901; later ed., 1904).

[5] *A Misjudged Monarch* (London).

[6] The period also brought new fame, at least interest, to the last of the Stuarts, Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender". There are recent popular and for the most part sympa-

scholarly. Omitted from this list is Arthur Bryant's *King Charles II*, in 1931, which arrives at the same conclusions but by the way of some scholarship. His reading shows breadth if not any too much depth. His references are impressive in bulk if exasperating as to arrangement and usefulness. His work is not without merit in spite of its Tory bias, which is happily much less manifest in his more scholarly and important recent volumes on Pepys.[7]

It is of interest and profit to compare these biographers with the best recent historians of the period. Not one of the latter shares their enthusiasm. All are unimpressed with Charles's suddenly-discovered patriotism, tireless energy, and sincere devotion to constitutionalism. All, basing their judgments on contemporary documents rather than prefaces thereto, find him easygoing, undependable, more selfish than patriotic, not very far-sighted, and on the whole not very wise. It appears that Clarendon's wisdom was responsible for Charles's return to England surrounded by happy Englishmen rather than by Spanish soldiers, had he been able to get them. All admit his good nature, his gracious tact, his keen knowledge of men, and his occasional spurts of first-rate statesmanship, but they agree that he was neither a great nor a good king. Some writers have denied his indolence and his aversion to sustained effort. Their statements are in direct contrast to the witness of eight men who knew him well and who, regarding him in different ways and from different angles, some as friends, some as critics, all agree on this point. The eight men are Clarendon, Pepys, Evelyn, Grammont, Burnet, Halifax, and the two French ambassadors, Cominges and Barrillon. It is unbelievable that all should be wrong, especially when known facts agree considerably with their statements.[8]

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thetic biographies of him by Donald B. Chidsey (New York, 1928), Grant R. Francis (London, 1928), Compton MacKenzie (London, 1932), Clennell Wilkinson (London, 1932), Louis Dumont-Wilden (Paris, 1934, Eng. trans., London, 1934), Lucette Duba-Brocher (Leipzig, 1935), and Carola Oman (London, 1935).

[7] *Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making* (Cambridge, 1933); *Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril* (Cambridge, 1935). A third volume, subtitled "Saviour of the Navy", is promised.

[8] Clarendon, *Life* (3 vols., Oxford, 1827), I, 358: "he grew more disposed to leave all things to their natural course and God's providence; and by degrees unbent his mind from the knotty and ungrateful part of his business, grew more remiss in his application to it and indulged to his youth and appetite that licence and satisfaction that it desired"; and his letter to Ormonde, Sept. 9, 1662, in T. H. Lister, *Life and Administration of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon* (3 vols., London, 1837), III, 222: "The king is as discomposed as ever, and looks as little after his business. . . . He seeks for his satisfaction and delight in other company, which do not love him so well as you and I do". Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, *e.g.*, May 15, 1663: "the unhappy posture of things at this time, that the king do mind nothing

I shall now consider Charles successively as head of the state, as head of the church, as promotor of the navy, as friend of science, as leader of court and society, and finally, in the best Hollywood fashion, as the Great Lover. Recent events in England have somewhat dimmed his pre-eminence in this last regard, for even he would never have considered giving up a throne for the woman he loved—nor, incidentally, for anything else—but he nevertheless occupies a unique place among English monarchs who won women's hearts.

As head of the state Charles displayed easygoing indolence, marked neither by high principle nor striking accomplishment. His ability in time of crisis, however, to commandeer immense reserves of energy and leadership, combined with unusual tact and intuition, rates him among the abler kings of England. The way he rode the storms of 1678-81, stripped of experienced advisers and handicapped by three relatives—James, Monmouth, and William of Orange—is nothing short of masterly.[9] It was about the only time he ever stood courageously in defense of a principle, that of hereditary succession. He had more brains than he ordinarily used, though this is scarcely a compliment. There may be personal satisfaction in possessing unused talents, but so far as society is concerned the result is nil.

The surroundings and discouragements of his early life left a permanent influence. Never again would he be a hungry, cold exile. Henceforth he would be comfortable. He never even dreamed of dying a martyr's death like his father. He longed for absolutism on the French model, but he never longed for it enough to exert himself in that direction to the limit of his powers. It was too hard work and might imperil his comfort. Except at the few times when he was

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but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business". John Evelyn, *Diary*, particularly his lengthy characterization of Charles, at the time of his death, February 4, 1685. Count de Grammont, *Memoirs* (ed. by G. Goodwin, 2 vols., London, 1903). Burnet, *History of My Own Time* (ed. by O. Airy, 2 vols., Oxford, 1900), II, 466-74. George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, "A Character of King Charles II" in his *Complete Works* (ed. by Walter Raleigh, Oxford, 1912), pp. 187-209, a very penetrating characterization by a keen analyst. Cominges's correspondence in the French foreign archives contains many similar comments (Jules J. Jusserand, *French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II*, London, 1892, p. 87), and so does Barrillon's during the last eight years of the reign, *e.g.*, in a letter of December 13, 1677: "Je suis persuadé qu'il se verroit engager a regret dans la guerre. Ce n'est point un Prince ambitieux, il aime le repos, et craint les affaires" (Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Angleterre, vol. 125, f. 332).

[9] There is a recent study of this period, Francis S. Ronalds's *The Attempted Whig Revolution of 1678-81* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XXI, Urbana, 1937).

aroused to great spurts of energy, he lacked courage, industry, and the serious resolve that persists against opposition. He manipulated ministries with consummate skill but seldom tried to dominate them. Extant records of council meetings show him a bored courtier, forced to listen to heavy discourse and at times forced to make decisions.[10] When these decisions called for common sense and intuition, they were usually well made. When they required sustained application to a problem, they were usually poorly done. To a considerable degree he allowed things to drift, which may be another way of praising him for getting in the way very little. With the main currents of the day, commercialism, imperialism, and toleration, he moved gracefully and at times enthusiastically. He allowed the Committee on Foreign Affairs to become a sort of embryonic cabinet. In 1679 he permitted Sir William Temple and others to undertake a real pioneering venture in cabinet government, but he gave it little support and broke through all constitutional defenses at the first opportunity. This came in early 1681, when England was thoroughly enervated by the Popish Plot, the Exclusion struggle, and Shaftesbury's party strategems, the last a new and racking experience for the nation. He seized the opportunity, and the last four years of the reign represent a rapid return to absolutism: no parliaments, widespread destruction of municipal charters, interference with local governments and personal liberties, a tendency to the spirit of the French *dragonnades,* and the importation of a royal Swiss guard in the best Versailles fashion. Had it not been that Charles died in midde life, before the full import of his closing years became clear, and had it not been that James was such an "all-time low" in political wisdom as to unite everybody against him within three years of his accession, Englishmen would take more seriously the peril to their liberties represented by the period 1681-88. Just because it happened to end rather quickly, and without leaving serious scars, is no reason for diminishing the potential peril.

As head of the church Charles was a liability of the first order.[11] Until his dying hours, when he was received into the Catholic faith, he had no serious religion but was a sort of indifferent deist who for political reasons preferred Catholicism. He conformed sufficiently to the

[10] See particularly William D. Macray, ed., *Notes which passed at Meetings of the Privy Council between Charles II and . . . Clarendon, 1660-7* (Roxburgh Club, London, 1896).

[11] On this subject see further the writer's "Religion of Restoration England" in *Church History,* Sept., 1937.

established church to keep on friendly terms, but his conduct and that of his friends ruffled the better bishops. He could afford to be tolerant of others' beliefs since it cost him no sacrifice of his own. The peoples' fear of his becoming a Catholic was enervating throughout the reign, particularly after the fall of Clarendon. The fear was of course wholly justified. His mother, sister, and wife were Catholics; his brother and heir was a Catholic, secretly from 1668, publicly from 1676; and he himself favored Catholics in 1662, 1670, and 1672 and became one himself in 1685. The tragic events of 1678-81 would never have occurred but for this atmosphere of suspicion, for which Charles was chiefly to blame.

It is really difficult to explain—more difficult still to justify—the Catholic clause of the Treaty of Dover. His common sense and intuition usually saved him from such steps. It is probable that Charles at this time actually expected to become a Catholic. If this was not the case, the clause is still more difficult to explain, for it was certainly not forced on him by Louis XIV. This is sometimes stated, but the supporting references usually refer less to the sixties than to the eighties, when Louis had aged and, having grown more religious, had deserted La Vallière and Montespan for Madame de Maintenon. In 1669-70 neither Louis XIV nor Colbert de Croissy pressed Catholicism on Charles or required it as a part of the alliance. To some degree they did the opposite. They were so bent on the prime purpose of the treaty, the joint war on the Dutch, that they warned Charles of the possible serious consequences within his kingdom if he should declare himself a Catholic. England's major interest at the moment should have been the rounding out of her maritime position by a final defeat of the Dutch—which was soon to occur—but it is highly astonishing that Charles should at that moment have unnecessarily risked terrible dangers at home. Any question as to the terribleness of the danger should be sufficiently answered by the events of 1678-81 and 1688. There is, furthermore, little excuse for Charles's possible ignorance of the danger, for his Declaration of Indulgence of 1662 and later events should already have given him proof of England's intolerance and dread of Rome. Many writers have put forth occult and complicated explanations of the Catholic clause of the treaty. None is convincing. Whatever it was, it was not statesmanship; and yet it stands as one of the chief personal accomplishments of the reign. It was unnecessary, unexecuted, and in the form of suspicions and rumors it bore malformed progeny for years to come.

As the promoter of the navy Charles stands out as did his father, who actually used his hard-won ship money for ships. Charles and James both liked ships and knew ships, and James was no mean admiral. Maritime pageants need not fear to feature either of them with historical accuracy, which, however, calls for few brilliant colors. The navy was one of Charles's chief interests, but it was a costly one, and he never had much money. He therefore supported it badly. His mistresses were not extravagant as mistresses go, but they were at least costly, and they were paid. Many a sailor and contractor went unpaid because Castlemaine or Kéroualle had first chance at the treasury. As to enlistment and impressment, the reign marked no improvement. There is stark tragedy in the statement of a Dutch captain that after the Four Days' Battle of June, 1666, many bodies of dead Englishmen floating in the water were in black Sunday clothes.[12] They had been taken by the press gang at the church door the preceding Sunday.

Charles's interest in science, though superficial, was genuine and wholesome. His tolerance and skepticism put him in the current of the best thought of the day. His interest in the Royal Society helped it to brave early discouragements. Of its real work and purposes he showed little grasp. He ridiculed its efforts to weigh air, thinking it impractical, but the experiment was on the way to the steam engine.

As leader of court and society Charles introduced some refinement to a place much in need of it. It was, however, a Bourbon sort of refinement, never quite at home in England, not even now. Its lax morals temporarily suited a period of reaction from Puritan restraints, but its foreign character ultimately became a thing from which England recoiled. Charles's conversation was ready and good. He may be excused for talking much because he talked well. His vulgarities had the saving grace of wit. He was the only Stuart king of England who had a sense of humor. His companions frequently shocked his ministers, and he often jested when serious problems were at hand.[13] Pepys is our only authority (June 21, 1667) for the statement that on the night of the Medway disaster Charles and the Duchess of Castlemaine were playing at hunting a poor moth in Monmouth's lodgings, but at least he did things like that. During the Plague and the Fire he was not an example of sustained courage, as is often said. During the former he caroused considerably in safe Wiltshire.

[12] H. T. Colenbrander, *Bescheiden uit Vreemde Archieven omtrent de Groote Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen, 1652-1676* (2 vols., The Hague, 1919), I, 397.

[13] *E.g.*, when viewing the Dunkirk money in the Tower. Pepys, *Diary*, Nov. 21, 24, 1662.

At the close of an economic section in which Charles figured little, David Ogg says that "the scarlet woman was more in evidence than the economic man".[14] Women were indeed an important aspect of the reign. Charles married a homely Portuguese infanta for political reasons and was, according to Continental standards of the day, not unkind to her. Following his first sight of her, he made a gallant effort to describe her in not too unflattering terms. The paragraph is worthy of quotation, for its shows his innate chivalry and honesty:

> Her face is not so exact as to be called a beuty, though her eyes are excellent good, and not anything in her face that in the least degree can shoque one . . . and if I have any skill in visiognimy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was born. Her conversation, as much as I can perceive, is very good, for she hath wit enough and a most agreeable voyse. You would wonder to see how well we are acquainted already.[15]

We may infer that Charles had not been swept off his feet. Nevertheless, he and this unattractive, barren Catherine of Braganza lived together until his death. Charles considered proposals of divorce but never approved them. She should have expected her ladies-in-waiting to be his mistresses, but he was unnecessarily instantaneous in forcing them upon her immediately after the marriage. Upon Clarendon's objections Charles penned one of the sharpest and most decisive notes of his whole life.[16] In this there is significance. Greater decision and resolve on other matters than his private life would have made him a greater king.

Charles's mistresses were many and mostly of some quality. Though he did not restrict himself to ladies, he never stooped to the sort that intrigued Pepys. He had better taste in face and figure than his brother James, whose mistresses were so terrible looking that Charles once said he thought they must have been selected by his confessor as a form of penance. None of Charles's mistresses appears to have had much political influence. Foreign ministers tried to use them, but not very successfully and certainly not with much consistency or continuity. The Duchess of Mazarin, French as she was, represented a real problem to the French ambassador, for she was close to the colony of French exiles in London and a potential liability rather than an asset. Louise de

[14] *England in the Reign of Charles II*, p. 560.

[15] Printed in Lillias C. Davidson, *Catherine of Braganza* (London, 1908), p. 99, and in Arthur Bryant, *Letters, Speeches, and Declarations of Charles II* (London, 1935), pp. 126-27, from Lansdowne MS. no. 1236, f. 124, in the British Museum. See also the author's "Anglo-Portuguese Marriage of 1662" in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X (1930), 313-52.

[16] Bryant, *Letters*, pp. 129-30, citing Lansdowne MS. 1236, f. 128.

Kéroualle, duchess of Portsmouth, who came to England shortly after the Treaty of Dover and stayed to the end of the reign, undoubtedly had more influence than any other. The master of the royal backstairs during most of the reign was William Chiffinch. He did not write his memoirs, for which forbearance living Stuarts should possibly erect to him a monument. Nevertheless, were all known, Charles would probably receive considerable credit for seldom confusing mistresses and ministers.

One woman had influence with him, particularly in connection with the Treaty of Dover. This was his sister, Henrietta d'Orleans, sister-in-law of Louis XIV. Her he loved greatly. Their extant correspondence of one hundred and five letters, preserved wholly by accident, for Charles ordered it sent to him and destroyed, is interesting and unique.[17] It is about the only part of Charles's correspondence worth reading. It shows him at his best. Time was kind to him in preserving it. Many of us would be pleased to have posterity judge us by the letters we write our sisters rather than those we write to some other women.

Restorations usually bring ills in their train and merely defer necessary solutions to problems. That of 1660 was no exception. But among restored monarchs Charles II was an unusually good one. He got in the way less than most of them do. He lived less in the past, much in the present, little in the future. If a breathing spell of thirty years was necessary for England to rise to the stature of her mid-seventeenth century leaders, England could easily have done worse than have Charles for twenty-five of them. But it is a defeatist's defense which can only refer to the possibility of something worse. There is no avoiding the conclusion that Charles's reign was filled with unnecessary religious tension and tragedy and ended in a constitutional disaster from which England escaped chiefly by accident. The convincing biographer who would portray Charles as a great and good king must have consummate literary skill and generous blindness to facts.

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[17] First printed by Julia M. Cartwright (*Madame: A Life of Henrietta*, London, 1894, 2d ed., 1900) and somewhat more fully by Cyril H. Hartmann (*Charles II and Madame*, London, 1934).

Harriet Beecher Stowe and Social Reform in England

Despite the growth of American nationality after the American Revolution and the War of 1812, a feeling of colonial dependency toward Great Britain persisted throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century. The supremacy of the British in literature, the arts and sciences, commerce, world power, and prestige was too obvious to be denied. British money opened up the new continent; British immigrants swarmed into the United States; British mechanics were conspicuous in the development of American industry; British goods penetrated to the remotest frontier; and British books and tracts filled Ameican homes. Constant political friction over boundaries, fisheries, and rights at sea, over Cuba, Mexico, Central America, and Panama has obscured the forces of co-operation and the influences that then tended to keep the civilization on both sides of the Atlantic uniform and interdependent.

The older British society had such renown that Americans, even when twisting the lion's tail, were eager to secure British parental approval for American policies and practices. Many Americans regarded Great Britain with respect and veneration. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, for example, wrote, "my heart warms to her, as *on the whole,* the strongest, greatest, and best nation on earth".[1] Again and again, when Americans were not being admonished by the British, they asked for criticism. The crusades for temperance, international peace, cheaper postage, free trade, antislavery, woman's rights, and new religious movements were not separated by the Atlantic but united by it. Agitators and reformers, to be sure, were fighting in two widely separated sectors, but they constantly sent messengers with words of encouragement back and forth.

With the British government and large sections of the British people so completely committed to the universal abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, it was good strategy for the leaders of social reform in England to associate themselves with the movement for Negro emancipation. The workingmen's party in England, seizing every opportunity to call attention to the hardships of British laborers, compared their lot unfavorably with that of American slaves. In the following pages the reciprocal relations between British and American reforming groups are presented in greater detail.

A powerful agitation forced the repeal of the corn laws in 1846 and the navigation acts in 1849 in order that British economic power could

[1] C. E. Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston, 1891), p. 177.

have freer play over the whole world. In consequence of the opposition to the corn laws, the doctrine of free trade, as well as the doctrine of antislavery, became an article of British faith. Incidentally, as is now well known, British free trade made King Corn a rival of King Cotton during the Civil War.

Free trade and antislavery clashed seriously at the outbreak of the conflict. Cobden wrote: "In your case we observe a mighty quarrel: on one side protectionists, on the other slave owners. The protectionists say they do not seek to put down slavery. The slave owners say they want Free Trade. Need you wonder at the confusion in John Bull's poor head? He gives it up!"[2] And Mrs. Browning, speaking of the tariff of the Republican party, said: "It's eking out the holy water with ditch water."[3]

Social unrest in England, as indicated above, attached itself to the campaign for Negro emancipation. Mrs. Stowe herself believed that the physical lot of the slaves was as good as that of the masses of English laborers and made this assumption in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[4] The immediate result was that her books were seized upon as arguments for the emancipation of the white laborer in England as well as of the black slave in America. While this was doubtless not her primary intention,[5] the proslavery party in the United States, the workingmen in England, and social reformers and enemies of reform as well, all combined to arouse public opinion in England to such an extent that Negro emancipation would not be achieved in America without important economic and political concessions to the laborer in England. I do not, of course, mean to imply that Mrs. Stowe originated the social reform movements of England, but her foreign fictional propaganda was added to the fictional attacks that were being made at home in works like *Game Law Tales, Mary Barton, Alton Locke,* and *Bleak House*.[6]

[2] W. H. Dawson, *Richard Cobden and Foreign Policy* (London, 1926), pp. 238-39.

[3] Annie Fields, ed., *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston, 1897), p. 268.

[4] Lord Carlisle took exception to that part of Mrs. Stowe's work which seemed to identify the condition of the poor in England, enslaved by capital, with that of the Negro in America (*Christian Times*, Oct. 29, 1852). See also *English Review*, Oct., 1852; *Christian Observer*, Sept., 1853; *Eclectic Review*, Dec., 1852; *Englishman's Magazine*, Sept., Nov., 1852.

[5] For an interesting account of how Mrs. Stowe came to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin* see an article by Lyman Beecher Stowe, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (*Saturday Review of Literature*, Dec. 12, 1925, p. 422).

[6] The *Westminster Review*, July, 1852, contains a discussion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with other pieces of fictional propaganda. The *Monthly Review*, Oct., 1856, defends the novel as a successful form of propaganda. See also *Newcastle Guardian*, Oct. 18, 1856.

In order to strike at the economic roots of slavery a variety of attempts had been made by British and American antislavery men to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States, to make it a great cotton commonwealth, without slavery, and to grow cotton in India and elsewhere.[7] Indeed, during the decade from 1840 to 1850 antislavery leaders on both sides of the Atlantic crusaded ceaselessly to prevent the extension of American slave territory, but when the smoke of the Mexican War had cleared away, and not only Texas, but a vast empire besides, had been added to the United States, temporary discouragement fell upon the antislavery agitators in Great Britain. It was felt and freely predicted that Cuba and the whole of Mexico would before long be added to the United States.[8] Moreover, in Great Britain, trading and banking interests, in addition to those of cotton, looked with favor upon American development and used their influence to get the British government to adopt a conciliatory policy. One item in the program was the abandonment of the claim of the right of search. Considerations of business and political prudence convinced the British government that it could not be an antislavery agent in the United States and retain the friendship of the American government. Under these circumstances antislavery propagandists had to rely on public opinion to keep the subject alive in the hope that eventually some definite stand would be taken by the North and that British moral support would not in the meantime become lukewarm.[9]

At this point of discouragement the languishing hopes of British antislavery men were amazingly revived, in 1852, by the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It is interesting to note that the British antislavery movement never produced any person of literary capacity, and therefore British slavery had to be destroyed by blue books, prayers, and tracts. American antislavery produced the weapon of fictional progaganda.[10] In eight months *Uncle Tom's Cabin* reached a circulation of

[7] *Eclectic Review*, May, 1853. The problem of reconciling English antislavery agitation with Great Britain's dependence on American cotton was touched upon by Professor Stowe when he accompanied Mrs. Stowe on her visit to England in 1853 (*Sunday Times*, May 22, *Observer*, Apr. 24, *Morning Chronicle*, May 17, 26, 1853). For Mrs. Stowe's advocacy of free-grown cotton see *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 16, *Patriot*, May 19, *Times*, Apr. 18, 1853.

[8] *Christian Times*, Dec. 17, 1852.

[9] Annie Heloise Abel and Frank J. Klingberg, *A Sidelight on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858* (Washington, 1927), *passim*.

[10] The *Morning Advertiser*, Jan. 4, 11, 1853, voiced the hope that the great popularity of the book would make many welcome an opportunity to assist in putting an end to the evils so vividly portrayed. The English magazines disagreed to some extent as to

over a million copies in England, with editions at all prices,[11] was presented as a play in every part of the United Kingdom, set to music for dance halls,[12] illustrated by famous cartoonists, read by the queen and the prince consort,[13] and by the political leaders of both parties. Newspaper and periodical reviewers were at a loss to account for this phenomenon and scarcely able to describe it.[14] The *Westminister Review* wrote: "Probably no literary performance, fiction or other, ever in so short a time became such a fact. A few months ago it was appearing in the *feuilleton* of a weekly newspaper in the States . . . now it is part of the history of two mighty nations, influencing their feelings, and through them surely, though indirectly, their actions." [15]

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whether *Uncle Tom's Cabin* would do more good or harm to the antislavery cause (*Christian Times*, Oct. 22, 1852; *Patriot*, Jan. 6, 13, 1853, Mar. 28, 1853; *Times*, Sept. 3, 7, 10, 1852; *Athenaeum*, May 22, 1852).

[11] *Nonconformist*, Sept. 8, 29, 1852, Jan. 12, 1853; *Christian Times*, Oct. 22, 1852; *Times*, Sept. 3, 1852. For lists of editions, see *Nonconformist*, Oct. 20, *Eclectic Review*, Dec., *Weekly Dispatch*, Oct. 24, *Wesleyan Times*, Oct. 28, 1852. A special juvenile edition quickly appeared, *Christian Times*, Mar. 4, 1853. The English reviews reported the popularity of the book abroad in translation (*Nonconformist*, Dec. 1, 1852, Feb. 9, 1853; *Monthly Christian Spectator*, Oct., 1856; *Christian Times*, May 20, 1853; *Wesleyan Times*, Nov. 15, 1852). This last magazine asserted on May 2, 1853, that the book had increased Bible reading in France. See also *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Sept. 28, 1856. The book was put on the Index (*ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1853), and in England a nonevangelical edition appeared (*Church of England Magazine*, June 4, 1853). Mrs. Stowe's son, Charles Edward Stowe, had a set of the book in twenty-six different languages (*Saturday Review of Literature*, Dec. 12, 1925, p. 422).

[12] *Nonconformist*, Sept. 22, 1852; *Sunday Times*, Apr. 17, May 8, 15, 1853. George Thompson lectured on the book in December, 1852 (*Nonconformist*, Mar. 16, 1853). In November, 1852, there had appeared in the field of music the Uncle Tom "Waltz", "March", and "Gallop" and also "The Slave Auction" and "Uncle Tom's Lament" (*Bell's New Weekly Messenger*, Nov. 28, 1852). Mrs. Webb, a half Spanish, half Negro woman, gave a dramatic reading of "Uncle Tom" which was favorably commented upon (*Ladies Own Journal and Miscellany*, Aug. 2, *Evening Star*, Oct. 21, 1856). There were pictures in art exhibits of Uncle Tom, and engravings of the characters of the novel were common (*Morning Chronicle*, Apr. 7, *Weekly Dispatch*, Mar. 6, 1853).

[13] Stowe, p. 192; Fields, pp. 222, 226.

[14] The *Eclectic Review*, Oct., 1856, reported that "duchesses and factory-girls, statesmen and plough-boys, were reading with an interest equally intense the same fascinating pages". The following review references indicate the widespread interest in Uncle Tom: *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, June, Nov., Dec., 1852; *Weekly Dispatch*, May 23, 1852; *Morning Advertiser*, Aug. 23, 1852, Jan. 4, 1853; *Daily News*, Aug. 4, 1852; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Aug. 22, 1852; *Friend*, Sept., 1852; *Observer*, Sept. 5, 1852; *Wesleyan Times*, Sept. 6, 1852; *Morning Post*, Sept. 10, 1852; *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 16, 1852; *Bell's Life in London*, Nov. 7, 1852; *Eclectic Review*, Dec., 1852; *Nonconformist*, Apr. 27, 1853; *Evangelical Christendom*, June, 1853. In a short time the reviewers gave up describing the book and contented themselves merely with commenting on various new editions (*Baptist Magazine*, Nov., 1852, July, 1853).

[15] *Westminster Review*, Jan., *Nonconformist*, Jan. 26, *Patriot*, Jan. 6, 1853.

It should also be observed that the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,* published in 1853, and *Dred,* published in 1856, likewise circulated in very large quantities; the latter quickly reached a quarter of a million copies and was presented on the stage as well.[16] Many people, including Queen Victoria and Harriet Martineau, preferred *Dred* to *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[17] Indeed, the success of *Dred* in Great Britain was second only to that of the first work. And in reviewing it, writers took occasion to give a full commentary on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for a second time.[18]

Commenting in 1856 on the timeliness of Mrs. Stowe's works, a writer in the *Eclectic Review* said:

> Uncle Tom came out when all free America was burning with indignation and shame at the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill. . . . The "Key" struck a heavier blow, perhaps, than the book itself. "Dred" has been written in the midst of the still fiercer excitement produced by the iniquities that have been enacted in Kansas, and the brutal assault on Charles Sumner; and it is issued simultaneously in America and England, on the very verge of

[16] *Nonconformist,* Dec. 15, 1852, Jan. 26, 1853. At a meeting of the Stafford House Memorial Committee the Duchess of Sutherland was presented with the first copy of Mrs. Stowe's *Key* (*ibid.,* Mar. 23, 1853). Numerous reviews of the *Key* appeared. See *ibid.,* Apr. 20, *Christian Times,* Apr. 15, *Weekly Dispatch,* Apr. 17, *Reynolds's Newspaper,* Apr. 24, *Eclectic Review,* May, *Bentley's Monthly Review,* June, *Westminster Review,* July, *Patriot,* Mar. 28, 1853. A royal battle in the magazines was waged over the merits and weaknesses of *Dred* as compared with *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* See *British Mothers' Journal,* Oct., *New Quarterly Review,* V, 364-6, *Christian Lady's Magazine,* Nov., *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* Oct., *Westminster Review,* Oct., *Monthly Christian Spectator,* Oct., *Monthly Review,* Oct., *Ladies Own Journal and Miscellany,* Sept. 6, 1856. The *York Herald,* Nov. 8, 1856, reported a lecture by a Negro there that confirmed the episodes in *Dred.* There were numerous announcements of the adaptation of *Dred* for the stage and of the production of it as a play. See *Morning Chronicle,* Oct. 7, *Evening Star,* Oct. 11, *Ladies Own Journal and Miscellany,* Oct. 18, *Observer,* Oct. 26, *Sunday Times,* Sept. 21, Oct. 12, 26, 1856.

[17] Fields, pp. 222, 226; Stowe, p. 308. Mrs. Stowe presented Queen Victoria and the prince consort with a copy of *Dred* (*Morning Chronicle,* Sept. 13, 1856).

[18] The success of Mrs. Stowe's books gave rise to a number of imitators. Among these were *Aunt Phillis's Cabin,* an answer to *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* published in America (*Nonconformist,* Sept. 22, *Eclectic Review,* Dec., 1852). Another such book was *Uncle Tom's Cabin as it Is* (*ibid.,* Dec., *Times,* Nov. 11, 1852). Using *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for imitative inspiration were *The White Slave* (*Nonconformist,* Oct. 20, *Eclectic Review,* Dec., *Weekly Dispatch,* Oct. 24, 1852), *Uncle Tom in England* (*Christian Times,* Oct. 22, *Wesleyan Times,* Sept. 20, *Home Companion,* Dec. 4, 1852), *The Cabin and Parlour* (*Christian Times,* Apr. 8, 1853), *Uncle Tom's Companions* (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* Nov. 28, *Herald of Peace,* Nov., *Weekly Dispatch,* Nov. 28, 1852). The *Westminster Review,* Jan., 1853, mentions most of these rivals in a column under "Contemporary Literature". Mrs. Stowe's lack of copyright for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was mentioned in the *Morning Advertiser* for August 23, 1852, and January 4, 1853.

what perhaps is the most significant election for the Presidency that the States have ever yet seen.[19]

But it was not through her writings alone that Mrs. Stowe exerted influence. In 1853, in 1856, and in 1859 she made triumphal tours through England, thus helping to keep the slavery agitation alive throughout the decade of the fifties.[20] In fact, a fairly complete survey of the whole newspaper and periodical press shows an uproar over her books which is difficult to explain. A writer in the London *Times* declared: "The enthusiasm excited everywhere by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* threw almost into the shade the past endeavours of even a Clarkson and a Wilberforce in arousing and strengthening the generous and philanthropic sympathies of this land of freedom for the cause of the slave."[21] According to *Reynolds's Newspaper* it was "one of the cleverest productions of the age, and essentially calculated to sap the foundations of that institution which may be said to be the only stain upon the star-spangled banner of the United States—slavery".[22]

Uncle Tom's Cabin suggested at once a mass appeal, "The Stafford House Address", from the women of England to the women of America. It was written by Lord Shaftesbury and signed by over half a million British women. The address deals with the moral degradation rather than the physical or economic conditions of the slave. Only one extract from it need be given:

> . . . we cannot be silent on those laws of your country which, in direct contravention of God's own law . . . deny, in effect, to the slave the sanctity

[19] Oct., 1856.

[20] On the tour of 1853 Mrs. Stowe was presented with a handsome Bible in appreciation of her work, and she was given charge of a "penny" fund, collected as a tribute to her and designed to assist the antislavery fight in the United States. The *Friend*, June, 1853, reports her acceptance of the penny fund. In some quarters she was attacked for accepting money, on the ground that there was a crying need for such assistance among the unfortunate at home (*Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 1, 8, 1853). The current newspapers and magazines all gave prominent notices of the 1853 visit. A few of the more important items are indicated below: *Nonconformist*, Feb. 9, Mar. 2, 16, Apr. 20, 27, May 11, 18, June 1, July 6, *Christian Times*, Feb. 11, Apr. 22, May 20, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Apr. 10, 17, 24, May 1, 8, 15, Sept. 11. Other accounts of Mrs. Stowe in England appear in *Wesleyan Times*, Apr. 18, 25, May 9, 23, *Weekly Dispatch*, Apr. 24, May 29. For an answer to an objection to the enthusiastic welcome given Mrs. Stowe see *Weekly Dispatch*, Oct. 9, and *Friend*, Oct. The *Times's* accounts were very detailed (Apr. 6, 18, 22, 26, Stafford House reception, May 4, 9, 26, Sept. 3, 6, 9, *Sunday Times*, Apr. 17, 24, May 8, 29). See also *Observer*, Apr. 24, May 30, *Morning Chronicle*, Apr. 1, 18, 25, May 17, 26, *Patriot*, Apr. 14, May 9, 16, 19, 26, 1853. Fields, p. 252.

[21] *Sunday Times*, May 29, 1853. [22] Aug. 22, 1852.

of marriage, with all its joys, rights, and obligations; which separate, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts any race of man, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel and the ordinances of Christianity.[23]

The address set loose a flood of counterpropaganda. The editor of the New York *Observer,* a Presbyterian paper, found it easy to change various references from Negro to white slavery and sent it back to England as his own admonition. One response was, "Sisters, your land is filled with slaves—slaves to ignorance, slaves to penury, slaves to vices . . . we now appeal to you very seriously to reflect, and to ask counsel of God. . . . How are you discharging your duties—your peculiar duties as women of education and influence?"[24]

In the address of Mrs. Tyler, wife of the ex-President, occur these expressions:

> Go, my good Duchess of Sutherland, on an embassy of mercy to the poor, the stricken, the hungry, and the naked of your own land—cast in their laps the superflux of your enormous wealth; a single jewel from your hair, a single gem from your dress, would relieve many a poor woman of England who is now cold and shivering and destitute. . . . Leave it to the women of the South to alleviate the sufferings of their dependents while you take care of your own.[25]

Lord Shaftesbury tried in vain to still the storm by explaining that he was actuated by friendliness. But many Americans, including Lewis Tappan, were on the side of the attackers. They urged that no attention be paid to the American outcry and that their British correspondents go ahead regardless of angry opposition.[26] In this there would have been more comfort for the British if their attention had not been diverted by renewed attacks at home.

The Chartist and other reform movements had stirred the British

[23] *Christian Times,* Dec. 3, *Nonconformist,* Nov. 17, Dec. 1, 1852. The *Times,* as reported in the *Nonconformist,* indicated that the American women might in turn point effectively at abuses in England (*ibid.,* Dec. 8, 1852). The *Patriot's* editorial on the address is interesting (Jan. 20, 1853).

[24] *Morning Advertiser,* Jan. 14, 1853.

[25] *Christian Times,* Feb. 25, *Reynolds's Newspaper,* Feb. 20, 1853. The *Morning Advertiser,* Jan. 14, 1853, carried an editorial explaining the address of the American women, which contained this statement: "In the opening part of the address to the 'sisters of England,' there is a sneer at *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which tells, in terms which cannot be misunderstood, how deeply the exposures in that wonderful work have cut the American body to the quick".

[26] Abel and Klingberg, pp. 40-43. See *Times,* May 18, 19, 1853, for letters warning against English interference in the American slavery question.

masses, and interest in the Negro always caused the charge of hypocrisy to be brought against the advocates of his cause. An earlier instance occurs when William Cobbett set out to praise the United States by exclaiming "No Wilberforces. Think of *that!* No Wilberforces!"[27] And now during Mrs. Stowe's three tours of England ample opportunity was given to compare the white or wage slavery of the English masses with the slavery of the American Negro.

The attacks on Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland were especially bitter.[28] The editor of *Reynolds's Newspaper* wrote:

> That branded political traitor and pseudo-philanthropist Lord Shaftesbury . . . was deputed to read an address to Mrs. Stowe; and of this task he acquitted himself in the canting, whining, snuffling accents of a street preacher sermonizing from the top of an inverted tub. . . . Would to heaven that a little of this sympathy, which has been travelling from Stafford House across the Atlantic on behalf of negroes on American plantations, had been retained for bestowal on our suffering population at home . . . there are two kinds of slavery in the world . . . both ought to be abolished . . . it is the most miserable affectation or else a downright imposture for any *clique* of exclusives at Stafford House to send forth their ranting, canting nonsense, under the guise of sympathy, across the Atlantic, when they have no compassion for the wages-slavery that enchains millions of our people at home.[29]

The editor of the *Northern Ensign* in 1856 addressed a long public letter to Mrs. Stowe, asking her, while a guest of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, to investigate conditions on their estate and to write a second Uncle Tom's Cabin.[30] He wrote, "you will, I venture to assure you, have abundant materials for a work which will rival even 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', and which will give chapter on chapter of plots and incidents, scenes and sufferings, patient endurance and Christian

[27] *Political Register*, Oct. 3, 1818.

[28] *Reynolds's Newspaper* was particularly incensed by the interest taken by the Duchess of Sutherland and other members of the aristocracy in the Negroes to the exclusion of concern for the "white slaves" at home (1852, 1853, *passim*). Of similar tenor were comments in the *Star of Freedom*, 1852, *passim*. The *Christian Times*, 1853, *passim*, was somewhat more moderate in tone but still distinctly critical.

[29] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 15, 1853. The same paper on May 16 reports a conversation of Mrs. Stowe's on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the United States.

[30] Mrs. Stowe's tour in 1856 called forth as much interest as had her former journey, especially her stay at the Sutherland estate. She was a leading news item for the papers. *Ladies Own Journal and Miscellany*, Sept. 6, Oct. 4, *Evening Star*, Sept. 16, Oct. 18, *Edinburgh News*, Oct. 11, *Weekly Guardian*, Oct. 3, 10, 31, *Morning Post*, Sept. 23, *Times*, Oct. 7, 14, *Newcastle Journal*, Oct. 11, *Newcastle Guardian*, Oct. 11, *Durham Advertiser*, Oct. 10.

resignation, and other manifold heart-stirring sketches".[31] He went on to give instances of hardship and scenes parallel to those of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* In an ironical mood, he suggested a supplementary chapter to Mrs. Stowe's *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands,* entitled, *Sunny Memories of Sutherlandshire,* in which the whole story of the Sutherland evictions would be told and Mrs. Stowe would be made to declare: "Silly creature that I was, to allow the hollow idolatry with which I was bespattered on my last visit to blind me to facts and principles, and to commit me to a defence of a system which I now believe to be far more reprehensible and criminal than its bitterest opponents have ventured to affirm."[32] The letter ends:

> The angel of freedom hopefully hovers over Sutherland after flapping her wings over Carolina. And the time will yet come, when liberty, in the fullest, widest, and most exalted sense of the term, shall be proclaimed "from the river to the ends of the earth," and when in Sutherland, as well as in *America,*
>
> "Man and man the warld o'er
> Shall brithers be, and a' that."[33]

The subject of wage slavery came up prominently in connection with a costume made for Mrs. Stowe in London in 1853. She apparently was wholly unprepared for the storm which this aroused. A letter appeared in the *Times* containing these words: ". . . would you believe it—these white slaves are at this moment busily employed in making a dress for . . . the champion of the black slaves of America! I wish you would ask that lady to take a peep into the cabin where her dress is now being made and put a few questions to those who are employed in making it, and tell you what she thinks of the system she is patronizing."[34]

Mrs. Stowe was astounded at the attack on English landlords and manufacturers.[35] She could not feel that the blame was theirs. Yet she

[31] *Morning Chronicle,* Oct. 7, 1856. This visit of 1856 was the occasion of various public warnings to Mrs. Stowe to search for a true view of conditions at Sutherland. These same articles took the opportunity to denounce the Sutherland evictions (*ibid.,* Sept. 24, *Northern Ensign,* 1856, *passim, Evening Star,* Oct. 15).

[32] *Northern Ensign,* Oct. 9, 1856. [33] *Ibid.,* Oct. 16, 1856.

[34] *Times,* May 18, 1853; Fields, p. 199. The *Weekly Dispatch,* Apr. 24, 1853, contains a description of the conditions under which London dressmakers worked and mentions the intention of some ladies of rank to make this cause "a sort of second 'Uncle Tom' agitation".

[35] For examples of such attacks see *Reynolds's Newspaper,* Dec. 5, 12, 19, 1852; Apr. 10, 17, 1853; the *Morning Advertiser,* Jan. 31, 1853; *Patriot,* Apr. 4, 1853. See *Morning Advertiser,* Apr. 24, 1853, for an article urging Mrs. Stowe, during her journey, not to be led astray by the glamor of the aristocracy but to realize the existence of a slavery in England as well as in America.

recognized the evils in the British social system. Some explanation was necessary. She found it in intemperance:

It is my belief, from observations and travel in England and Scotland, that almost all the poverty and misery of the lower-classes now arises from the traffic in intoxicating drinks. In no country has benevolence been more energetic and the progress of social reform more rapid. . . . The view of your great cities flaming nightly with signs of 'Rum, brandy, and Gin'; is to the eyes of an American as appalling as the slave-market of our Southern States to an Englishman.[36]

The universal and ceaseless comparison of the American slave with the British laborer was generally in favor of the white worker, but not enthusiastically so.[37] An extract from the *Westminster Review* will illustrate the usual argument:

But compare the slave on a plantation . . . such as we doubt not was Mr. Calhoun's, with the Dorsetshire labourer as Mr. Godolphin Osborne used to describe him, before the glitter of Australian gold had brightened his path—still more, with the Irish cottier, before he could hope to fly to Michigan or Wisconsin, where no landlord could evict him. . . . Even then, the chances are that the cottier or the labourer would not change places with the slave, for there is something in freedom which makes the man who has it cling to it while he has life. But neither, we dare say, would Mr. Calhoun's slave change places with them; and anyone might well be perplexed, if compelled to choose between the contented animalism of the one, and the comfortless, hopeless manhood of the other . . . but in the treatment there is this most mighty difference, that in the one case the effort is general and immense to better the condition, and in the other there is, at least, as great an effort to keep it as it is . . . we can earn a right to remind America of her besetting sin, by contending with our own social evils, remembering that . . . our guilt may be the same, because our temptations may be less.[38]

There is an overwhelming mass of evidence that the English workingmen, becoming conscious of the value of American propaganda and counterpropaganda, were resolved to bring them to bear upon their own desperate political and economic struggles.

[36] *Times*, Sept. 29, 1856; *Durham Chronicle*, Oct. 10, 1856. During the journey of 1853 Mrs. Stowe attended a total abstinence meeting in Edinburgh (*Reynolds's Newspaper*, Apr. 24, 1853).

[37] For accounts favoring the condition of the British white workers as compared with that of the slaves in some respects see *Star of Freedom*, Sept. 25, 1852, and *Morning Advertiser*, Jan. 31, 1853. The *Christian Times*, Jan. 28, 1853, contains Shaftesbury's answer to an American rebuke, in which he argues for the superior condition of the white workers. See also the *British Mothers' Magazine*, Apr., 1853, pp. 77-87, *National Miscellany*, May, 1853, pp. 43-58. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Jan. 16, 1853, contains a letter intended to prove that the blacks were far better cared for than the poor in England. See also *ibid.*, Jan. 23, Feb. 20, 1853.

[38] Jan., 1853, pp. 141 ff.

By identifying themselves with this antislavery movement, British and American, and constantly calling attention to their own grievances, white laborers believed that they would benefit by the freeing of 4,000,000 American slaves. English antislavery sentiment, the workers believed, was strong enough to carry with it some relief for themselves. And when, finally, Mrs. Stowe penned her answer to "The Stafford House Address", during the discouraging days for the North, in 1862,[39] it was greeted with almost universal enthusiasm by the masses of England, whose leaders, John Bright, W. E. Forster, and George Thompson, had seen from the beginning, even before Lincoln had accepted this view, that American slavery could not survive the Civil War.

The British laborer and his champions, in their search for arguments looking toward the increase of his political influence and the betterment of his economic and social status, found a great arsenal of facts and arguments in the Anglo-American antislavery agitation directed against the institution in the United States. Victory came with the Reform Act of 1867, which "brought within the pale of the constitution" the majority of English urban workers.

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[39] Fields, pp. 267-68.

DOCUMENTS

A Side Light on Federalist Strategy during the War of 1812

Historians have long since noted that the Federalists in New England were opposed to the War of 1812 and that extremists among them openly called for secession from the Union. It seems to have escaped previous notice, however, that in the autumn of 1814 the government of Massachusetts actually made a tentative move for an armistice and an alliance with Britain. At least a month before the delegates gathered at the Hartford Convention and while the plenipotentiaries of President Madison were seeking a general peace across the Atlantic, Governor Strong commissioned an agent, who was known to the British at Castine but whose name was scrupulously kept out of the records, to go to Halifax to interview Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the commander of the Castine expedition and the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. The principal object of this mission was to ascertain the British attitude toward a separate peace with New England. As the convention of the eastern states had not met, the agent was unable to make a "precise proposition" on the part of the Americans, but it was hoped that the views of the Massachusetts government would be "sufficiently satisfactory at this stage, of what will be the eventual determination of the Convention; more especially when the importance of Massachusetts among the Northern States is considered". These views extended "decisively to peace and friendship upon such principles of reciprocity, as shall be calculated in any event of peace or War, to promote as far as possible, the interests of both Countries". It was "questionable" whether the states, once they had gained their freedom, could support Britain in a European war, but if the British North American colonies were attacked, they "would not hesitate it is believed, to assist in the defence of them". On the other hand, the Federalists wanted to know if they could depend upon his majesty's government to stand by in case the Democrats and the administration at Washington caused any trouble. If so, what would be the exact nature of the British aid? After conversing thus with Sherbrooke, the agent agreed, at his excellency's request, to put down what he had said in an unsigned "Paper" that could be forwarded to London. Sherbrooke then wrote a covering dis-

patch, dated November 20 and addressed to Lord Bathurst, the British secretary for war and the colonies.

What effect this dispatch and its startling enclosure would have had on the British ministers two months earlier, during the rupture in the general peace negotiations, one can only conjecture.[1] As it was, when all the outstanding differences between the plenipotentiaries at Ghent had been settled or set aside and when the signing of the treaty seemed to be but a matter of days, Bathurst did not hesitate to authorize Sherbrooke to sign an armistice with the New England states in the event of the continuation of war. The ship from Nova Scotia could not have been long docked when the minister for war and the colonies sat down to write out his majesty's instructions in four secret and confidential letters, all dated the same day, December 13—a most unusual occurrence which in itself suggests that a stir had been caused by the arrival of the Halifax mail. Although, as Bathurst told Sherbrooke, the prospect for peace now seemed bright, there was always the possibility of another rupture at Ghent, and, if that did not occur, there was still no guarantee—in fact, there was some doubt—that President Madison would ratify the treaty. The British had therefore determined not to suspend hostilities until Madison made peace a certainty by signing on the dotted line. In case the war did go on, Bathurst gave Sherbrooke authority ("this Instruction hereby conveying it") to negotiate for a separate peace with New England. Not only was Sherbrooke given power to sign an armistice, but he was also at liberty to promise British "arms, accoutrements, ammunition Clothing and naval Cooperation" to "any State or States" menaced by "the American Executive". His majesty was not willing, however, to enter into "any Engagement to afford Military Cooperation". Sherbrooke was told to explain this by stating that the employment of British troops would "excite Jealousy and Distrust in the United States, and would therefore materially counteract the advantage which would otherwise be derived by the State to whose assistance the force was sent".[2] As events turned out, the occasion for putting these instructions into effect did not arise. The

[1] For a detailed account of the negotiations at Ghent see Frank A. Updyke, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1812* (Baltimore, 1915).

[2] It is interesting to note that the agent from Massachusetts entertained somewhat similar sentiments on this point. He had assured the British that so long as the New England states could "preserve peace and Order, prudential motives arising from the tenderness and apprehension of many at seeing British Troops in the Country, will urge strongly and conclusively against their being employed".

treaty was signed at Ghent eleven days later, and it was duly ratified by President Madison on February 15, 1815. Even if some untoward incident had prolonged the war, it is doubtful whether the New Englanders would have been as ready to come to an agreement with the British as the agent from Massachusetts suggested. Sherbrooke made it a point to tell Bathurst that they were not all Federalists. True, the Federalists had gained a resounding victory at the polls in November, 1814, but only six months before, an election in Massachusetts had given them a majority of only 11,000, and when the delegates met at Hartford in December, the moderates were able to dominate the convention. Nevertheless, it had long been obvious to their British neighbors that the people in the eastern states were dissatisfied with their position in the Union.

During the war scare of 1807-9 two British agents, sent across the line to sound out American opinion, had come to similar conclusions about the people in New England. These men worked separately and differed radically in character and outlook. John Henry, who received his commission from Governor Craig of Lower Canada, reported from Windsor, Vermont, on March 6, 1808, that, owing to the distress caused by Jefferson's embargo, there was talk of "an armed truce along the borders and even an union with Great Britain". Twelve days later, at Boston, he wrote that "in a few months more of suffering and privation of all the benefits of commerce, the people of the New England States will be ready to withdraw from the confederacy, establish a separate government and adopt a policy congenial to their interest and happiness". On his return to Montreal in April, Henry was convinced that "in case of a war, the States on our borders may be detached from the Union and like the Germanic body, each State consult its own safety and interest".[3] The subsequently notorious career of Henry, an Irish adventurer of no settled abode, who betrayed his trust by selling his papers to the American government when the favors he expected from the British government were not forthcoming, makes it necessary to accept most of what he said with extreme caution,[4] but in this case his statements may be compared with those of a man whose integrity is unquestioned.

John Howe, the other agent, who was employed by the government

[3] John Henry to W. H. Ryland, civil secretary to Governor Craig, Public Archives of Canada, *Report*, 1896, pp. 39, 41, 42.

[4] E. A. Cruikshank, *The Political Adventures of John Henry* (Toronto, 1936).

of Nova Scotia, was a respectable citizen of Halifax, the editor of the *Royal Gazette,* and, later in life, deputy postmaster general.[5] He reached Boston in April, 1808, and in September wrote that the embargo had "completely federalised all the New-England States" and might "eventually lead to a division of the Southern and Northern States".[6] In 1809, when making his final report, he asserted that the Federalists wanted "a reconciliation with Great Britain" and that, if the embargo were continued, "a separation of the Eastern States" would ensue.[7] Howe's opinions may possibly be discounted on the ground that, being one of the Loyalists who left New England after the Revolution, his wishes fathered his thoughts. Bias or cunning may indeed have influenced the reports of Howe and Henry, but later events confirmed what they said.

Hostilities between Britain and the United States had no sooner broken out than the New Englanders and their colonial neighbors agreed not to attack one another's soil. This gentlemanly arrangement seems to have been respected throughout the war. No militiamen from Nova Scotia or New Brunswick accompanied the British regulars who invaded northern Maine and captured Castine in the late summer of 1814. Sea warfare there was, privateers of both sides taking many prizes, but in general the people found it more profitable to engage in the amazing war trade which, despite the preventative efforts of the Washington government, flourished under the protection of British warships.[8] An imperial order in council of October 13, 1812, gave Sherbrooke the power to issue licenses for this trade, which reached its height in 1813, when more than a hundred American ships called at Halifax alone. The British naval blockade that closed the American coast to shipping in the autumn of 1813 and throughout 1814 was a serious blow to both Bluenose and Yankee traders, but they soon found a way out when the British declared Castine a free port in

[5] S. F. Bemis (*A Diplomatic History of the United States,* New York, 1936, p. 171, n. 1) confuses Joseph Howe with John Howe. Joseph was the son of John and became famous in the 1830's and 1840's as Nova Scotia's outstanding exponent of responsible government. During the Crimean War he, too, had occasion to cross the American border as a British agent.

[6] Howe to Sir George Prevost, n.d., endorsed "In Sr. G. Prevosts Letter to Mr. Cooke [*sic*] 23 Sept. 1808", David W. Parker, "Secret Reports of John Howe, 1808", II, *American Historical Review,* XVII (Jan., 1912), 333.

[7] To Prevost or Croke, n.d., endorsed "In Sr. G. Prevosts 19 May 1809", *ibid.,* pp. 346, 349.

[8] Walter Ronald Copp, "Nova Scotian Trade during the War of 1812", *Canadian Historical Review,* XVIII (June, 1937), 141-55.

September, 1814.[9] Naturally, however, the blockade and the British occupation of American territory did not promote the Federalist cause, and the agent sent to Halifax by Governor Strong was at pains to make this clear. Indeed, he went so far as to state that the depredations along the shores of New England were "pregnant with the most serious consequences to both Countries" and that if "good feelings" were to continue, such depredations "must cease". This veiled threat was not lost on Lord Bathurst, who instructed Sherbrooke "to concert measures with the Commanders of H.M.'s Naval forces to mitigate in every possible manner the pressure of War, in favour of all such States as shall have satisfactorily shewn a disposition to conclude an Armistice with His Majesty". Peace came before this new policy could be put into effect.

The name of the Federalist agent who was sent to Nova Scotia presents a mystery that a considerable amount of research has not solved. He was known personally to both Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffith, who had met him during their operations in the Penobscot district.[10] Writing on November 20, 1814, Sir John described him to Lord Bathurst as "a Gentleman who is a most respectable Inhabitant of the Country lying between the Penobscot and the Boundary Line of New Brunswick And who was a Member of the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts" and said that he had "lately been allowed to go from Castine to Boston". This may have been to attend the special session of the general court at Boston, which had issued its invitation to the Hartford Convention on October 17, or it may have been in response to a call from the Massachusetts executive after the session was over. In either case, he soon returned to Castine and told Major General Gosselin that he had "a Communication of importance" to make to the governor at Halifax. Gosselin thereupon granted him leave to go to Nova Scotia. Although he carried no credentials, considering it prudent to be without papers of any kind, his word that he had been commissioned by "the Executive of Massachusetts" appears to have been sufficient for Sherbrooke. Bathurst was assured that the man's "respectable Character" and "other Circumstances" left no room for doubt as to the authentic nature of his mission.

[9] The revenue collected by the British during their occupation of Castine was later applied to the foundation of a new university (Dalhousie) at Halifax.

[10] Lists of the representatives for this district, which then comprised the counties of Hancock and Washington, were kindly compiled for me by Judge Howard P. Nash of Brooklyn, New York. A careful check of these lists has, however, still left me in the dark as to the likely man.

Nevertheless, Sherbrooke admitted that "the subtlety of the New Englanders will require a most able Negociator to treat with them". As he himself was a soldier and "quite a stranger to diplomatic business", he recommended that Bathurst send out some one "Well skilled in the finesse of diplomacy & thoroughly acquainted with the British Interests in this part of the World to be in readiness to take advantage of Circumstances as they occur". Bathurst, as we have seen, decided to let Sherbrooke treat with the New Englanders. He took the precaution, however, of giving him a few elementary lessons in diplomacy, pointing out in particular the importance of written credentials. Unless the persons with whom he dealt could produce these, Sherbrooke was to content himself with delivering the verbal substance of his instructions as what, in his opinion, "the Disposition of the British Generals" would be if a definite armistice were proposed. As news of the peace followed hard on these instructions, Sherbrooke had no opportunity to act upon his superior's advice, and Governor Strong's representative had no occasion to present papers that might have given us his name.

The feelers put out by the Massachusetts government through their agent at Halifax help to explain why the British ministers in December, 1814, were so confident of being able to make a separate peace with the New England states in the event of the negotiations at Ghent breaking down or President Madison refusing to ratify the treaty. This confidence is evident in Liverpool's letter to Castlereagh of December 23: "The disposition to separate on the part of the Eastern states may likewise frighten Madison; for if he should refuse to ratify the treaty, we must immediately propose to make a separate peace with them, and we have good reason to believe that they would not be indisposed to listen to such a proposal." [11]

A comment in the London *Times* three days later suggests that it too may have been aware of what had been going on behind the scenes in Boston, Halifax, and London: "With them [the New England States] let us treat, and not with the traitor Madison. New England allied with Old England would form a dignified and manly union well deserving the name of Peace".[12]

J. S. MARTELL.

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

[11] Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, IX, 495.

[12] Quoted in S. E. Morison's *The Oxford History of the United States* (Oxford, 1927), I, 306. As the voice of the *Times* in 1814 was not as "inspired" as it is said to be today, this injunction may have been based on nothing more substantial than hope.

I SHERBROOKE TO BATHURST

Halifax 20th: Nov^{r}: 1814

Duplicate.[13]
Secret and
Confidential

My Lord:

A Gentleman who is a most respectable Inhabitant of the Country lying between the Penobscot and the Boundary Line of New Brunswick And who was a Member of the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts having lately been allowed to go from Castine to Boston informed M Gen^{l}. Gosselin on his return that He had a Communication of importance to make to me which induced the Maj^{r}: General to grant him leave to come to this place.

On receiving this Gentleman (who was personally known both to Admiral Griffith & Myself at Castine) He stated that the business which he came here upon was of a very delicate nature And that he felt awkwardly situated from having no Credentials to shew, As he did not think it prudent to carry any written documents about him lest they should be discovered. He then said that He was Commissioned by the Executive of Massachusetts to Communicate with me on some very important points which I desired him to Commit to writing And which I have now the honor to submit for Your Lordships Consideration neither Admiral Griffith nor Myself conceiving Ourselves Competent to discuss a subject of this magnitude without having received an especial authority so to do.

From the respectable Character of this Person & other Circumstances, Admiral Griffith & Myself have no doubt of his having been Commissioned to make the enclosed proposals on the part of the Government of Massachusetts: It therefore now rests with Your Lordship to receive them or not as You may think proper under the peculiar Circumstances of the Case.

It seems the New England States are very apprehensive that If Great Britain should conclude a Peace with the general Government their interests would be sacrificed—And as the President has refused to repay the expences already incurred by the Northern Commonwealths for the purposes of defence, the Executive of Massachusetts has resolved to withold all pecuniary Aid from the General Government And to apply the Amount of the Taxes raised to the defence of their own Frontier, And It is supposed that the other New England States will adopt the same line of Conduct at the Congress appointed to meet at Hartford on the 15th: of next Month to which Connecticut & Long Island have already Nominated their Delegates, But as the Legislatures of New Hampshire & Vermont are not now in Session theirs have not yet been appointed.

Notwitstanding the Custom which prevails of Calling these the *"Federal States"* It is right Your Lordship should be informed that there is a very strong democratic Party in each of these Commonwealths And as they will in the event of any attempt being made to seperate New England from the Union most probably be assisted by the General Government in resisting this Measure, It appears that the Federal Party wishes to

[13] Colonial Office, 217/93, Public Record Office, London. Although this dispatch is marked as a duplicate, it is apparently the one read at the Colonial Office, for the familiar note, "Let this be put by", is scrawled across the corner of one of its pages.

ascertain at this early period whether Great Britain would under these Circumstances afford them Military assistance to effect their purpose should they stand in need of it.

Whether the British Government shall deem it expedient to comply with this request or not for the present, Your Lordship will I think see the good policy of sending more Troops out here immediately, to be in readiness either to oppose the Levies now raising in New England should they be inclined to act hostilely towards us, Or to assist them If the contrary policy be pursued in seperating themselves from the Union & in forming a Government of their Own.

In this state of things the importance of Our having taken possession of Castine & the territory Contiguous to it will I doubt not strike Your Lordship forcibly, As from thence Whenever the necessary arrangements are made We can supply the Federallists with everything they can require Should it be the policy of Britain to assist them in seperating from the Union, Or If Affairs take a contrary turn We have at the Penobscot a Frontier much more easy to be defended than the Old One was, Whenever a sufficient Force arrives for that purpose.

Altho' I shall be extremely happy to attend to any Instructions I may receive from Your Lordship relative to the Communication I am now transmitting And to act in any way you may be pleased to direct Yet I feel it my duty to state to Your Lordship candidly that I am unacquainted with & quite a stranger to diplomatic business — And as the subtlety of the New Englanders will require a most able Negociator to treat with them I presume to recommend that Your Lordship should under some feigned pretence send a person out here who is in Your Confidence, Well skilled in the finesse of diplomacy & thoroughly acquainted with the British Interests in this part of the World to be in readiness to take advantage of Circumstances as they occur, & taking care to conceal for the present the real purpose for which such person has been sent out.

I shall await Your Lordships Answer to this Communication with great anxiety As It involves in its Consequences events of Considerable importance And I mean not to interfere with the Politics of the New England States in any way until I am honoured with further instructions unless Circumstances should produce an open rupture between them & the Government of the United States sooner than is expected, in which Case I shall think it my duty to afford all the assistance I am able to the former As We are actually at War with the latter.

I have the honor to be with great respect My Lord

Your Lordship's

Very Obedient and

Most humble Servant

J. C. SHERBROOKE

The Rt. Hon^ble^
The Earl Bathurst
&c &c &c

II THE PROPOSALS OF THE AMERICAN AGENT ENCLOSED WITH THE FOREGOING DISPATCH

Duplicate.

This Paper the object of which is to prepare the way for Peace & Friendship between Great Britain and such States as may hereafter be

disposed to pursue in good faith, a course of measures calculated to produce that desirable object, is submitted & received under the fullest pledge of Confidence, — that should any thing occur to prevent the accomplishment of that object, the Parties & Persons directly or indirectly concerned, and who may be implicated thereby, shall in no case be exposed while any evil consequences may result therefrom.

The State of Massachusetts has been actuated by a strong desire not only to prevent the declaration of War by the united States against great Britain, but since that declaration has been made to embrace the earliest opportunity to bring the War to a close: Such circumstances have hitherto existed as have rendered inexpedient, a direct & decisive effort to accomplish that desirable object: If however the British Goverment does in fact entertain such Sentiments and Views, as the Goverments of New England have attributed to it, the period is now probably near, when the War may be brought to a Conclusion, — mutually advantageous to Great Britain, and to those who may concur in producing that Event.

With a View to meet the occasion, the Goverment of Massachusetts at its late Session, has appointed delegates to assemble at Hartford, in Connecticut on the 15th of December 1814, And there to meet such Delegates from the other New England States, as may be by then appointed for the purpose contemplated in the appointment of those by Massachusetts: — The States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, have already acceded to the principle of the proposed Convention, and appointed their Delegates accordingly. It is confidently expected that as soon as Expedient the other two New England States, will not for a moment hesitate to adopt the same measure.

The Ostensible objects for which this Convention is to be organized, will fully appear from the resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts for the appointment of Delegates, by which it will be seen, that a prominent subject for deliberation is to be that of providing for the common defence and Welfare of the States represented in that Body, whose defence is neglected by the Goverment of the United States, whilst that Goverment exacts from these States the Means of Defence existing within their respective Territories, to employ them in making foreign conquest, explicitly refusing at the same time to reimburse to a State the Expences it may incur in providing for its own defence. For the purpose of providing for defence, it is contemplated that the States convened will among other things devise the necessary measures for taking into their own hands the Revenues of all kinds accruing to the general Goverment within their respective Territories, with a view to appropriate those Revenues to their own immediate and joint defence.

It will require no great degree of prescience, to forsee that this measure forced upon those States by the conduct of the general Goverment, and the law of self preservation, will necessarily lead to collision between that Goverment and these States, and also that the credit of that Goverment already greatly impaired, and always founded principally on the basis of Northern revenue, must entirely fail.

One other great subject for consideration in the Convention will probably be, the establishment in due time of a goverment for the States present, and such as may acceed afterwards, calculated to insure the pursuit of such regular and legitimate policy, as may afford security to foreign as well as domestic relations, and prevent as far as may be, a recurrence of that

vascillating policy, as almost necessarily results from a Goverment entirely and immediately directed and controuled by popular caprice.

For the purpose of being prepared to operate in such manner as future exigencies may require, the Legislature of Massachusetts has authorized his Excellency the Governor to levy an Army of 10,000 regular Troops, and probably a similar measure will be adopted by the other States acceding to the Convention, according to their ability.

It will be apparent, that situated as the States must be that accede to the Convention, they will not be disposed to carry on the War longer than until it can be terminated consistently with their interest and their honor, and it will be equally apparent, that it is in the highest degree important, they should as early as possible be able to know, what is to be the relation that is to exist between them and the British Goverment. The distance between the two Countries is so great and the importance of the question growing out of this novel state of things, should it exist to the full extent contemplated, so weighty as respects those States, that it will not excite astonishment, that the earliest opportunity has been taken even before the subject is matured, to obtain such an answer as to satisfy the States in regard to the views of the British Goverment towards them. The liberal views of the Executive part of the Goverment of Massachusetts, under whose auspices this communication is made, will it is confidently presumed be fully reciprocated.

It will be understood that the object of this communication is to ascertain whether Negociation will under existing circumstances be agreeable to the British Goverment. If so, to pave the way to it, and to prepare as expeditiously as is consistent for its conclusion. The Convention not having yet been in Session, and their views not being yet certainly known, but only presumed upon (though as is believed with good reason) no precise proposition can with propriety at this time be made. Still however the views of those under whose patronage this communication is made, may perhaps afford evidence sufficiently satisfactory at this stage of what will be the eventual determination of the Convention, more especially when the importance of Massachusetts among the Northern States is considered. They extend decisively to peace and friendship upon such principles of reciprocity, as shall be calculated in any event of peace or War, to promote as far as possible, the interests of both Countries; How far there can be aid afforded directly by the States in the event of an European War, appears questionable, so long as her Colonies remain unmolested. Should those Colonies on the Continent be attacked, the States would not hesitate it is believed, to assist in the defence of them, under stipulation offensive and Defensive so far as relates to this Continent.

It is not to be concealed, that possibly, though not probably, the democracy of some one, perhaps more of the state Goverments, influenced and countenanced, by the Executive of the United States, may overcome in an Election, the best exertions of well disposed people. It will be necessary to know whether in an event of that kind, any competent Military force, can be certainly relied on, to be provided by great Britain, in aid of the present authorities of the States, or of such Goverment as may grow out of measures now in operation. This is a point of great importance, as events may turn. At the same time it must be understood that provided the force of the States is competent to preserve peace and order, prudential motives arising from the tenderness and apprehension of many at seeing British

Troops in the Country, will urge strongly and conclusively against their being employed.

The Goverment of Massachusetts has observed with no small degree of satisfaction the wise and prudent course of conduct pursued by the officers commanding the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in this quarter. It becomes however necessary to state, and it is done with extreme regret, that the order of the Admiral permitting or ordering depredations on our Coasts, has had the most painful effects on the Politics of the Eastern States, and certainly with very little benefit, perhaps none, in any point of view, to the British Interests. Indeed it is a measure pregnant with the most serious consequences to both Countries. The levying of Contributions has excited a great degree of feeling and alarm, and has undoubtedly produced a war spirit in some limited degree, where it did not exist before. It would seem that no good can possibly result from pursuing that course of warfare in the North, and certainly much evil must result from it. In almost every instance the Sufferers being Men of some property are well disposed; Such proceedings will alienate extensively the friendly affections of good people, while the property obtained in such cases will be no object in a national point of view. If compensation can be made voluntarily in some delicate way, vast good would result from it, and to a degree that would perhaps many times counter-ballance the evil already experienced. If indeed the preservation of the good feelings of the people of this and the adjoining States towards Great Britain, be thought an object of any importance, depredation must cease on our Shore. If that mode of Warfare be thought advisable, it must operate altogether on the South. Punishment will then be brought Home to the Doors of the guilty. In that Country the British Goverment and people have no affections to lose.

There is, it is believed little room to doubt, that if these States be left unmolested, they will soon be able to establish a system of order and power, that will paralyze the Authority of the United States, and crush the baneful Democracy of the Country. The measures now ripening by means of the Convention, will soon afford a more decisive and important view of the ultimate measures proper to be taken by the British Goverment.

III Bathurst to Sherbrooke [14]

Downing Street
13 Decr. 1814

Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, *Sir,*
(Secret)

I have laid your Dispatches of the Dates and Numbers mentioned in the Margin before His Royal Highness The Prince Regent.[15]

You will lose no time in making the strongest assurances of the sincere satisfaction with which H. M's Government have received the Communica-

[14] The copies of the four dispatches of Lord Bathurst, printed below, were found in the Public Record Office, London, in a Colonial Office Letter Book (C.O., 218/29, pp. 123-30), where, following a dispatch dated November 25, 1815, they are definitely out of place. The originals were probably destroyed after Governor Sherbrooke read them. They cannot be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

[15] These were not copied in the margin of the Letter Book kept in England.

tion you have forwarded, considerating it as an undeniable proof that H. M's Conduct towards the United States has been duly appreciated by the most enlightened Members of the Confedracy, and that there continues to exist in the United States a cordial disposition to renew the Relations of amity, mutually beneficial to the two Countries.

The best return which can be made for the frank Communication, which you have forwarded is not to delay giving an explicit and unreserved reply.

You will therefore inform those, with whom you will have to communicate that the Negociations at Ghent appear to be nearly brought to a favourable Conclusion: But it will be necessary at the same time to apprize them that the Tenor and Complexion of Mr. Madison's Government has been such, that His Majesty cannot consent to bind himself in any manner to suspend hostilities, altho' the Treaty shall have been signed by the Commissioners respectively at Ghent, until it shall have received the formal Ratification of the President.

In making this Communication you will take occasion to declare, that in the Event of the War being unhappily protracted by reason either of the Rupture of the Negociations at Ghent, or of The President refusing to ratify the Treaty, when presented to him, you have received authority (and this Instruction hereby conveying it) to sign such Armistice on the part of the State of Massachusetts, and of any other States referred to in your Dispatch of the 20th Ultimo.

You are further authorized to engage that if the American Executive shall menace an attack upon any State or States in consequence of having signed such armistice, H. M's Government will furnish arms, accoutrements, ammunition Clothing and naval Cooperation, on receiving application to that Effect: But you will decline entering into any Engagement to afford Military Cooperation: You will at the same time not fail to assure those to whom you will make this Communication that our Indisposition to enter into such an Engagement proceeds solely from an apprehension that the Employment of such force, especially on the Conditions for which it has been the policy of this Country to stipulate on similar occasions, is calculated to excite Jealousy and Distrust in the United States, and would therefore materially counteract the advantage which would otherwise be derived by the State to whose assistance the force was sent.

It is however to be hoped that We should be able to give as effectual assistance by creating diversions of the State which might be attacked: Our military operations on the Coast would for that reason uniformly have for their first object the assistance they might afford to those, who were meanced [menaced] by the American Executive.

You are lastly authorized to give this assurance, that His Majesty will engage not to conclude Peace with the American Executive, without providing for the Protection of such State or States, as may, by signing the Armistice, have exposed themselves to the Resentment of the American Executive.

I have &c.

BATHURST.

IV Bathurst to Sherbrooke

Downing Street
13 Decr. 1814

Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, *Sir,*
Separate
and
Secret

In adverting to that part of my dispatch, in which it is stated that His Majesty cannot bind himself to suspend in any manner Hostilities until the Treaty shall have been duly ratified by The President of the United States (which Event the person to be authorized to exchange the ratifications shall have Instructions forthwith to communicate to the Commanders of H. M's Naval & Land forces) You will notwithstanding this consider yourself authorized on the receipt of this dispatch to concert measures with the Commanders of H. M's Naval forces to mitigate in every possible manner the pressure of War, in favor of all such States as shall have satisfactorily shewn a disposition to conclude an Armistice with His Majesty in the Event of the War [being] protracted either by the Rupture of the Negociation at Ghent, or by the Refusal of the President to ratify the Treaty when presented to him.

I have &c.,

Bathurst.

V Bathurst to Sherbrooke

Downing Street
13 Decr. 1814

Sir J. C. Sherbrooke *Sir,*
(Secret)

As it is always desirable to take the earliest opportunity of relieving any officer from the anxiety necessarily incidental to his taking upon himself any Act of Responsibility of great National Importance, I will not delay assuring you that your Conduct will receive the approbation of The Prince Regent, if you shall have decided, before the receipt of my Instructions of this day's date, to afford Military assistance to any of the adjacent States in the Event of the Crisis referred to in your Dispatch of the 20th Ulto, — and you will continue to execute the Engagements which you may have contracted to that Effect, until you receive further Instructions.

If such an application shall be made of the receipt of my Instructions you will wait the result of the Communication you are therein directed to make as to the actual State of the Negociation, before you will give any reply.

As I will not fail to give you the earliest information of the Signature or Rupture of the Negociation, the actual State of it will make it most probable that you will have received intelligence of the result before you will be again called upon for your answer to the application.

In Case of the rupture of the Negociation you are furnished with Instructions how to act: If on the other hand the Treaty shall have been signed, & ratified by The Prince Regent, you will at once see that under those Circumstances it will not be consistent with good faith to afford

assistance to the States in Question, unless (at an after Period) the President shall refuse to ratify the Treaty.

I have &c.

BATHURST.

VI BATHURST TO SHERBROOKE

Downing Street
13 December 1814

Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, *Sir,*
(Secret)

Altho' the Person who made the Communication to you on the Subject of your Dispatch of the 20th Ulto. did not produce the Authority under which he acted, yet it cannot be imagined that Circumstances must not have arisen between the period of your having received the Communication & your receipt of my Dispatch of this day's date, which shall not have placed this essential point beyond doubt or dispute.

Unless however the Persons with whom you will have to communicate can produce some official Document, you will abstain from making in an official manner any Communication in Conformity with my Instructions, but you will content yourself with delivering the Substance of those Instructions verbally, as what you imagine would be the Disposition of the British Generals, if any proposition of the Kind already stated, was made to them, allowing the persons to whom you address yourself to take Note of such verbal Communication, taking care however to have read to you the Note in order to be sure that you have not been misunderstood, or the Government committed.

I have &c.

BATHURST

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

A History of Political Theory. By GEORGE H. SABINE, Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University. [American Political Science Series, edited by Edward S. Corwin.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1937. Pp. xvi, 797. $4.00.)

IN a book as comprehensive as this, yet of less than eight hundred pages of text, the problem of what to include and what to leave out and of what proportion to maintain among those things selected for inclusion is, as the author says, "almost insoluble". His own principle of selection is indicated in his statement that the book was written "in the light of the hypothesis that theories of politics are themselves a part of politics". He has chosen theories or theorists not because he likes or dislikes them but in proportion to their influence on the political thinking or actions of men.

The merits of the book are to be judged largely by the thoroughness, discrimination, and insight with which these sound principles are actually applied and by the fullness, freshness, and accuracy of the author's knowledge of the mass of contemporary material on which this application must be based. So judged, this book stands out, both for the author's conception of his subject and his execution of it, as the best treatment extant of the whole development of our political thought from its beginnings to the present time.

The book is the more valuable because Professor Sabine never forgets that some political questions are perennial and emphasizes these in his summary of the long discussion in which they are often distorted by the temporary controversies of the past. In short, he always keeps the perspective of the true historian, conscious of the whole dramatic movement of thought yet aware that even the present answers to these great questions, like all the past ones, constitute only one phase, and that not the final phase, of this long development. In discussing these past answers the author never hesitates to criticize them on grounds of their adequacy or coherence. His book is written frankly from a certain point of view; it is no mere dry, colorless, catalogue of conflicting theories but a serious attempt to compare, criticize, and evaluate them. This is a great merit and no defect, even in a textbook, when the point of view is frankly stated at the outset as it is here, and provided always that the treatment contains no suppression or distortion of opposing points and arguments, and no suppression, unfairness, distortion or lack of appreciation is apparent in this book.

There are, of course, more points of view than one from which the long drama of political thought may be approached, and Professor Sabine states his own very clearly in his preface when he says that "it is impossible by any logical operation to excogitate the truth of any allegation of fact, and neither logic nor fact implies a value". This would seem to make all judgments merely pragmatic, and one wonders how, even on this basis alone, he could make any comparisons or form any estimate whatever; for even a judgment as to practicality predicates some belief as to what is really practical: even a practical value is a value. From such a point of view the age-long belief in natural law becomes the mere illusion that Professor Sabine more than once says it is; and, of course, such objections as Plato's to the Sophistic position can have no solid basis whatever.

Now it is obvious that neither this Sophist view nor its opposite can ever be demonstrated; yet one may believe that one or the other offers a better explanation of man and of his relations, political and other, as disclosed in history. Professor Sabine frankly accepts the Sophist view, though, as has been said, this never leads him in his treatment to underrate the views opposed to it. It does, however, in some instances, result in particular judgments concerning important political theorists, and one who inclines to the Platonic rather than the Sophist position might venture to question a few of these.

For example, on the important question of the relation of Plato's second-best state, under law, to the ideal of the *Republic* without law, Professor Sabine regards that relation as "highly unsatisfactory", a "cardinal difficulty", because under the principles of the *Republic* "there was no place in the state for law", whereas in *The Statesman* the necessity for law is plainly asserted. As a result he considers *The Statesman* as "a complete reconstruction" and a profound modification of Plato's "whole philosophical structure". But if, on the other hand, one should take seriously Plato's own statement that one of these ideals is "laid up in Heaven", while the other, though merely a "second-best", is nevertheless a true "copy" of the former, even if an imperfect one, perhaps he might find here not so much a "cardinal difficulty" as a valid precedent for St. Thomas's later relation between the eternal and the human law.

In fact this skeptical view of "values" would go far to invalidate not only Plato and Aristotle and St. Thomas but practically the whole of medieval political thinking and much of the modern which in part retains it. This may account for the fact that the chapter on Machiavelli is one of the best in this book and the one on Bodin, on its purely theoretical side, one of the least convincing.

In Bodin's theory of sovereignty Professor Sabine finds three "serious confusions": the limitations on the sovereign contained in the law of God and of nature, in the constitutional law of France, and, most serious of all,

in "the inviolability of private property". All three are closely connected in both history and thought, but the second and third are probably more directly related to present-day controversies. Of the fundamental laws of the French monarchy as a limit to the powers of the sovereign Professor Sabine says: "The confusion here is manifest; the sovereign is at once the source of law and the subject of certain constitutional laws which he has not made and cannot change." But if this is a "confusion", then all constitutional limitations whatsoever are such, and the only logical government in the world is despotism. Likewise Bodin's denial of the sovereign's right arbitrarily to take private property, as a power beyond the legitimate authority of *un droit gouvernement* in any "royal monarchy", Professor Sabine regards as a "flat contradiction". This part of Bodin's theory, however, actually corresponded with the facts in both Spain and France until despotic power changed those facts in both countries; and in England similar facts in accord with Bodin's theory persisted long enough to make despotism itself ultimately impossible.

Indeed, if Bodin's inviolability of private property is a "flat contradiction", we must admit that we have gained most of our liberties on false pretenses, since they have been won in very large part through "the power of the purse"; and any insistence that "supply and redress go hand in hand" involves the same "confusion" as Bodin's theory: if the latter is untenable the former is unjustifiable. The choice here in effect is one between Hobbes and Bodin, and some of us may venture to prefer Bodin. Any believer in constitutionalism, I think, is bound, if he is consistent, to do so, not merely on practical but on historical and even on theoretical grounds. A definition of authority like Bodin's is illogical only to one who denies the possibility of any definition.

It will be readily seen that Professor Sabine's political conceptions are somewhat tinged with the present-day hostility to reason, and that this particular reviewer is too old-fashioned to fall in with them. But such a difference in point of view, profound though it is, in no way lessens one's respect for the thoroughness, accuracy, and sound learning that this admirable book everywhere displays.

Harvard University. C. H. McIlwain.

A Social and Religious History of the Jews. By Salo Wittmayer Baron, Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions, on the Miller Foundation, Columbia University. Three volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xiii, 377; xi, 452; xi, 406. $3.75; $3.75; $4.00.)

This important work is somewhat more limited in scope than its title would indicate. As Professor Baron tells us in his preface, it "is primarily concerned with the interrelation of social and religious forces, as exemplified

in the long historic evolution of the Jewish people". Its great value arises from the fact that the author has a definite point of view from which he judges the numerous events, factors, and forces, which affected the long social and religious life of the Jews throughout history, and which he sets forth clearly in the introductory chapter.

Professor Baron defines the essence of Jewish religion as a historical monotheism. By this he means that in it time and human achievement play the important role and not place and the static conditions of nature. In fact, Judaism sets history as a force against nature, and in its Messianic ideal it pictures a state of affairs when nature will be entirely changed by the will of God. From this fundamental conception there follow numerous corollaries: first, man's independence of nature; second, his importance "as an instrument of an Almighty Power to achieve the ultimate victory over nature"; third, the prominence of the future in the Jewish view of life and the consequent optimism resulting from it; fourth, the high value of life in this world, for history is realized on earth, and, what is more, the idea that life ought to be an ethical life, for struggle against nature means not only against nature in its external aspect but also against human passions, and "morality becomes a means in realizing the aims of history". All these constitute one set of corollaries, but there is still another, since history involves in its essence the life of the group—ultimately all humanity. The historical monotheism of the Jews is therefore a group religion in which the nation is of paramount importance and the individual plays a subordinate role. For this reason the author refuses to call Judaism an ethical monotheism, though he recognizes its emphasis on ethics, since the life of the individual is not the ultimate goal. From this follow also: first, the concept of the "chosen people", for in this conquest of nature by history a "selected group of men is indispensable"; second, the eternity of the people and not the immortality of the individual, a belief which is of late origin; and thirdly, most important of all, the detachment of the Jewish religion from nature, soil, and state—its abstractedness, prohibition of images, and independence of sanctuaries.

This particular character of the Jewish religion, according to the author, shaped the destiny of the Jewish people, for it enabled it to live without a territory, and the result was that in Jewish life, throughout history, emphasis was laid on nationality (racial descent, common destiny, culture, and religion) rather than on the state, and hence the survival of the Jews long after their state was destroyed. This detachment and struggle against nature, however, while conducive to survival, has not been wholly beneficial. It led to many tragedies in Jewish life, for nature asserts itself, and the result has been numerous conflicts, not the least of which is being regarded by all other peoples as an anomaly. The nature of the religion and Jewish life produced also many contradictions in character. The Jew is both

particularistic and universalistic, practical and idealistc, conservative and liberal, besides exhibiting many more polarities. Professor Baron concludes his introduction by asserting the inseparable unity of Jews and Judaism, of nationality and religion in Jewish life, and deprecates any attempt to separate the two and emphasize either at the expense of the other.

Fortified by the set of principles clearly elaborated in the introduction, our author proceeds to show their action and realization throughout the long life of the Jewish people by his excellent survey of that history, which he divides into four distinctive periods, each having a characteristic of its own. These are: the period of ancient Israel, terminating with the restoration at the end of the sixth century B.C., the period from Alexander to Mohammed, the medieval period, and the modern period. To each of these divisions of history a number of chapters are devoted. Space forbidding even a succinct account of the survey, we can merely say that on the whole it is well executed, the interrelation between the social and religious forces in Jewish life made clear, and the action of the principles laid down in the introduction sufficiently illustrated by numerous data, including many statistical figures. Especially laudable is the treatment of the Biblical period, in which, though deviating much from the Jewish traditional view and adopting the documentary theory of the Hexateuch, the author follows, on the whole, a conservative view, championing not only the historicity of Moses and the Exodus but also his great activity as the founder of the Jewish religion and law. Full treatment is also given to the Talmudic and medieval periods, in which the author displays a fine sense of appreciation of the world of the Talmud and gives special attention to the development of the Jewish community and its autonomous self-government, which served the Jews as substitutes for the state and were an important factor in their survival.

Yet with all these excellent qualities, one should not fail to note some of the weaker points of the work. There is, in the first place, a pedantic adherence to theory. The author, in his endeavor to show the independence of the Jewish people of soil and state, often goes to the extreme and continually calls the Pharisees a "state-denying party" when facts do not warrant it. Consequently he is faced with the difficulty of explaining the rise of the Zealots, who were extreme patriots and simultaneously rigorous Pharisees, besides many more inconsistencies. The fact is that the Pharisees were far from state-denying but merely did not see in the state the *raison d'être* of Jewish life, considering religion as more encompassing than the state and a greater vital power.

Emphasizing as he does the more external social forces, the author fails to take into account sufficiently the inner psychological forces which in their action upon life become no less strong social incentives. To cite a few instances, the phenomenon of prophecy is hardly touched upon in its inner

psychological and religious aspects. The attempt to stress the state complex of the Sadducees involves him in contradictions when explaining their relation to Jewish law and results in one-sidedness. Again, while devoting many pages to the development of Talmudic law and *Halakah* and their influence upon Jewish life, the influence of the *Agada,* the rich treasure of Jewish ethics, ideas, and aspirations, is only briefly referred to in a page or two. The treatment of the nineteenth century *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) movement in Galicia and Russia, its two prominent centers, is inadequate. Less than four pages are devoted to these manifestations, of which less than a page is given to the Russian *Haskalah.* A movement which produced an extensive Hebrew literature and was partly instrumental in initiating the national movement is certainly a social force and deserves greater consideration. Nor is the statement, "More Russian writers combated not only Hasidism but all forms of traditional Judaism" (II, 222), correct.

The author makes excellent use of his sources. They are not only very extensive and brought together from wide fields but are ingeniously interpreted. Occasionally, however, especially in Talmudic statements, the interpretation is forced, and in one place the real meaning of a statement, that of R. Eleazar (I, 244), is diametrically opposed to the one given to it by the author.

In conclusion we may say that this is a stimulating and illuminating work, containing a wealth of information and sound views and showing a fine conception of the spirit and a mastery of the matter of Jewish history.

Hebrew Theological College, Chicago. MEYER WAXMAN.

Sources of English Constitutional History: A Selection of Documents from A. D. 600 to the Present. Edited and translated by CARL STEPHENSON and FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM, Cornell University. [Harper's Historical Series, Dean Guy Stanton Ford, Editor.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 906. $4.00.)

THE excellence and comprehensiveness of this volume render it almost as difficult to criticize as it is agreeable to read. It ranges from 601 A. D. to 1937, from the dooms of a Kentish king to the coronation of George VI affecting peoples in all quarters of the globe; and its scope, towards its latter end, tends to include social and economic measures, such as allotments, workmen's compensation, and health insurance. Two principal editors and a number of expert advisers have, no doubt, widened the outlook and led to the doubtful assumption that whatever is a subject of parliamentary legislation may be a legitimate ingredient in constitutional history. Yet it seems rather optimistic to expect the individual student to assimilate "materials that can be classified under ecclesiastical, legal, economic, social, or colonial history" but are included in a volume on constitu-

tional history "not intended for experts" (pp. xxx, xxxi). The meshes of the net are, perhaps, somewhat too fine for its size and scope.

One other point which impresses a reader who would like to be a regular user, rather than the mere reviewer, of this book is the lack of an index. The logical order in history is of course chronological, and this book is properly based on that principle. But we want an index to the uses of terms like parliament, court, council (or counsel), star chamber, constitution, assize, statute, ordinance, ship money, and many others, so as to be able to trace in original documents the various meanings attached to them at difference times. Do "annual parliaments", as Sir William Yonge asks (p. 635), mean parliaments that meet, or are chosen, annually? Which "Triennial Act" says that parliament must meet at least once in three years, and which that it must last no longer than three years? A good index would be an invaluable addition to this excellent book in its probable future editions.

We should like also to see a section on the exchequer chamber, which in some ways was as important as the star chamber. The name is only a *locus in quo* and had nothing else to do with the exchequer. In the exchequer chamber all the judges met to consider constitutional questions raised in the courts of law. It was not itself a court and rendered no "judgments", but it expressed "opinions" which bound the court to which the case was returned, with the record, for judgment. Some of the star chamber cases might be omitted to make room and also the so-called "star chamber act, 1487", which has not a word about the star chamber in it. The marginal comment, giving it that name, was added much later on no known authority.

The most novel among the admirable features in this volume are its extracts from parliamentary debates and its up-to-dateness. On two of the most recent points the present reviewer happens to have been informally consulted by the prime minister and the secretary of state respectively concerned. The first of these (138 D), on cabinet responsibility, is still an open question; the second (139 E), the de Keyser's hotel case, is of particular interest to historians. The final judgment by the house of lords is here printed, but not the previous history of the case. The question was whether the amount of compensation due for the taking possession of property by the government for the defense of the realm in war was a matter of grace from the government or of judicial determination. In the court of first instance the argument turned almost entirely on the legal interpretation of the Defense of the Realm Act of 1914, and the decision was against de Keyser's hotel. Before it came to the court of appeal, history was invoked, and it was pointed out that England had often been at war, that private property had often been commandeered for its defense, and that historical records would show what the law had been. The historical argument produced some

effect: the case still went against de Keyser's hotel, but only by the narrowest majority. It was then carried to the house of lords: during the interval some thousands of documents had been examined in the Public Record Office, the historical argument was decisive, and the house of lords unanimously reversed the decisions which had ignored the historical evidence.

Brierfield, Milford-on-Sea, Hants, England. A. F. POLLARD.

Lezioni di paleografia. Del Prof. GIULIO BATTELLI. [Pont. Scuola vaticana di paleografia e diplomatica.] (Vatican City. 1936. Pp. x, 227.)

THIS volume contains the lectures on palaeography given to the students in the Vatican school of palaeography and diplomatics. It reflects a program of study that has been developed in the Vatican in the course of half a century.

In a preliminary chapter the author defines the subject, states its scope, and outlines the method of treatment. A sketch of the history of palaeography from Mabillon to Traube is followed by a general bibliography. The second chapter treats of writing materials and the forms of the written document.

Chapter III deals with the origin and evolution of the Latin script and the stages of its development. Chapter IV covers the period from the first to the eighth centuries (capitals, uncials, half-uncials, the older and younger types of cursive). Letter-forms and ligatures are reproduced or described; attention is called to the number of strokes required in writing the various letters—an important point in tracing the evolution of the letter-forms from script to script.

The treatment of abbreviations (ch. v) is not happy. Instead of giving a systematic account of the various types of formations and of their range in time and place the author presents a rather mechanical survey and frequently groups together formations which are not parallel and which are separated by several centuries. No reference is made to Lindsay's *Notae Latinae*, a work which is absolutely indispensable in the study of abbreviations. Cappelli's Lexicon, which is cited, is no substitute. The palaeographer cannot stress this point too much; editors and text critics are still prone to attribute an abbreviation found in Cappelli to an archetype which was written several centuries before the abbreviation came into existence.

Chapter VI resumes the historical account (to the twelfth century). From the standpoint of method it would seem preferable to dispose of the Insular script before taking up the "national" hands. This would conform to the progress of the evolution of the scripts and their chronological development. The chronological treatment would also give a better picture of the cultural movements in Western Europe from the seventh to the tenth centuries, the period of greatest importance for the transmission of Latin

texts. Instead, the author begins with Italy and, after a brief discussion of the script of northern Italy, devotes more than twenty pages to the Beneventan script, the latest of the "national" hands to develop. Twelve pages are given to the early scripts of France and Germany and scarcely more to the Insular script. Only seven pages are required for the Caroline minuscule, but twice as much space is devoted to the miniatures.

Chapters VII and VIII deal with the Gothic and Renaissance scripts. The volume closes with an index of facsimiles (forty reproductions, each showing a few lines of text, with a transcription) and an index of manuscripts cited.

An admirable feature of the lectures is the attention given to miniatures and other manuscript ornamentation. The author has attempted to bridge the gap between the art historian and the palaeographer, but in this field much remains to be done. The bibliographies are especially helpful.

University of Chicago. CHARLES H. BEESON.

Essays in Political Science in Honor of Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University. Edited by JOHN MABRY MATHEWS and JAMES HART. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 364. $3.00.)

THIS volume is a timely tribute to a scholar whom all American political scientists delight to honor. The fifteen former pupils of Dr. Willoughby who have joined in its composition and editorial supervision represent worthily the various fields of inquiry in which he was most deeply interested. These were, according to Professor Garner, who contributes by way of introduction a judicious evaluation of Willoughby's contributions to political science in the stricter sense of the term, political philosophy, constitutional and administrative law, and international law. Papers in each of these fields attest the pupils' respect for scholarship as well as the breadth of interest of their former teacher. Collectively they make up a volume which American political scientists will cherish not only as a souvenir of an honored leader in their profession but also as a valuable contribution to their branch of science.

There is one noteworthy omission from the ranks of the contributors. Among them is no representative of the numerous Chinese who resorted to Dr. Willoughby for induction into the mysteries of political science. China offered to him an extraordinarily attractive opportunity for the practice of his profession, and he responded vigorously and effectively to the call. His services as political adviser at Peking and as diplomatic adviser at most of the international conferences in which China has been an important participant since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty reveal a practical sagacity and soundness of judgment which have enhanced the dignity of political science in the modern world. Among his pupils are several Chi-

nese political scientists who have distinguished themselves in their own country and who would have felt at home among the contributors to this volume.

The leading contributor is Dr. Willoughby's brother, Dr. William F. Willoughby, whose essay is devoted to a general discussion of the science of administration. His thesis is that public administration constitutes a distinct branch of political science and deserves to be viewed as a science. He believes that general principles of administration can be developed by scientific methods of analysis and that considerable progress has already been made in developing and making known these principles. He supports his declaration of faith with a logical classification of the activities of administration and a catalogue of administrative problems awaiting scientific study. The essay is much more than a composition for an occasion; it is an epitome of Dr. W. F. Willoughby's own long and productive studies in the field of administration.

The greatest defect in the American system of public administration, Dr. W. F. Willoughby thinks, is the failure to make proper provision for the exercise of the function of general direction and control. More specifically, the most important problem of public administration at the present time is that of devising and installing a system of budgetary procedure adapted to our political systems. This is a problem concerning which, as Dr. Willoughby rightly points out, there is no general agreement among public officers or students of public finance. His essay concludes with an appeal to students of public administration to undertake the investigations necessary for the solution of such problems and to push them to a successful conclusion. It is at once a contribution to political science and a challenge to American political scientists.

Harvard University. A. N. Holcombe.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Démosthènes et la fin de la démocratie athénienne. Par Paul Cloché, professeur à l'Université de Besançon. (Paris: Payot. 1937. Pp. 333. 36 fr.)

The chief purpose of the author in this book is to answer the much discussed question of the real motives that determined the course taken by Demosthenes in the different phases of the great political struggle of the third quarter of the fourth century. His conclusion is that in spite of seeming oscillations and deviations Demosthenes's policy was consistent from the outset, that it followed one general aim, and that it was based on a thorough knowledge and—with the exception perhaps of the last years of his life—a just evaluation of the international and internal situation. It was the one aim of Demosthenes to prevent any other power from becoming

more powerful than Athens and thereby a menace to her. He favored strong action on the part of the Athenians whenever such action was necessary in pursuance of this aim and when, at the same time, there was a fair chance of success. He always dissuaded his fellow citizens from nourishing old grievances against old enemies when these had ceased to be a menace and could be turned into useful allies, or when they were in distress and it was necessary to support them in order to maintain the balance of power. He spoke also in favor of peace whenever he thought that Athens was not strong enough for immediate action. It is only in the latest period of his life that his policy becomes more and more unbalanced, while, at the same time, especially in connection with the Harpalos affair, the evidence becomes so intricate and contradictory that no clear decision is possible. In regard to this latest period the author, though still inclined to a judgment in favor of Demosthenes, arrives, on the whole, at a *non liquet.*

In dealing with his main subject the author displays the thorough knowledge of the ancient tradition and the modern literature which can be expected from so eminent a specialist in Athenian history. He weighs the evidence most carefully, and, in my opinion, there can be little doubt that he has proved his main point. Whatever criticism there can be of so excellent a work—apart from a minor inaccuracy in a detail on page 76—derives from its somewhat too narrow restriction to its special subject.

The author shows admirably that the policy followed by Demosthenes was consistent. But he does not discuss the question whether he was right in his general aim or whether he always followed the wisest course in pursuing it. J. Beloch, for instance, thought that Demosthenes "did not understand" the policy of Eubulos, who wanted to build up the financial and military strength of Athens before engaging in any major actions. Others have blamed him because he prevented Athens from submitting to the leadership of the Macedonian king without engaging in a hopeless struggle. U. Kahrstedt goes even so far as to explain his anti-Macedonian policy by his pro-Persian bias. The author rightly rejects this theory and, by doing so, implicitly the criticism of the general course of his policy. A great power like Athens could not give herself up without a struggle, even if she wanted to. For there would come a point at which she would have to make a last stand. A. Momigliano is probably right in contending that Philip would have preferred a partnership with Athens and with the Greeks in general to their subjection. But a partnership in this case would have meant in the long run not much more than submission without a fight. The politician, therefore, who tried to make her fight at a time when there was still a chance of success deserves praise for his foresight, even though through the internal weakness of his country his policy was ultimately doomed to failure. And nobody could foresee whether a community so rich in resources might not rise to new strength in an emergency, not to

speak of the fact that in the crucial year 339 a rather promising international and military situation was destroyed by the foolish behavior of Aeschines at the assembly of the Amphiktyons at Delphi.

There can be scarcely any doubt that the financial policy of Eubulos, which favored the disinclination of the wealthy citizens to make sacrifices to build up the military strength of Athens, was not sufficient to put her foreign policy on a solid basis. But Demosthenes, in his first speeches at least, was also very compliant with the prejudices of the wealthy. E. Schwartz has, therefore, suggested that at the time of the speech περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν Demosthenes belonged to the party of Eubulos because this seemed to give him the best chance to gain political influence and that he joined the *"Aktionspartei"* only about four or five years later, when this appeared a course more favorable to his personal ambitions. I think that, on the whole, the author is right in rejecting this suggestion and in pointing out that the speech περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν already contains a good many of the ideas for which Demosthenes fought at later times. But, on the other hand, there can be little doubt that in the beginning of his career Demosthenes refrained carefully from saying anything that might have shocked the majority of the ecclesia and especially the wealthy citizens. Some traces of this caution can still be found in the first Philippic. The author himself hints not infrequently at considerations of this kind, but he does not elaborate on this subject. Perhaps his analysis might have gained still more in thoroughness and penetration if he had dwelt more on the entanglement of internal and foreign politics in Demosthenes's speeches.

One additional remark may perhaps be made. The author gives a full bibliography at the end of his work. But neither in the text nor in the notes does he make any reference to it. Nor does he mention anyone by name, though he frequently refers to the opinions of other scholars in general terms like "on a pensé que", "d'après une théorie ingénieuse", "l'auteur de cette opinion", or by alluding to the different suggestions made in the form of general questions. The reason for this seems to be that he wishes to avoid all personal polemics. But since his book will certainly not be read by Demosthenes specialists only, it would probably have been a convenience to the majority of his readers if he had made reference in his notes to the bibliography.

All this, however, can detract very little from the merit of a work which deserves very careful study.

Columbia University. K. v. Fritz.

Greek and Roman Naval Warfare: A Study of Strategy, Tactics, and Ship Design from Salamis, 480 B. C., to Actium, 31 B. C. By William Ledyard Rodgers, Vice Admiral, U. S. Navy (Retired). (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1937. Pp. xv, 555. $6.00.)

Admiral Rodgers deals with naval warfare not as a separate profes-

sional topic but as a part of a general field: he follows many campaigns on land and pays no little attention to political factors, so that his volume becomes a general survey of warfare during the five centuries ending with the battle of Actium. His own interest, very clearly, lies not in professional matters so much as in the general conduct of war as an expression of national policy. He shows notable skill in omitting the trivial details that often paralyze military narratives and moves ahead on a clear and definite course. The style is direct and straightforward and the general manner of writing thoroughly readable, with a touch of the brisk vividness of Ferrero. Ferrero's manner, incidentally, gives an innocent reader the impression that all the facts requisite to a complete knowledge of ancient history are available to scholars and that the author by diligent persistence has mastered them all.

Admiral Rodgers's readers, in turn, are given few hints that there are any gaps in the historical evidence available to us today, and there is little note of the uneven value of the evidence offered by different classical authors; one would hardly imagine from the text that the question of evidence presents any problems at all. At the end of each chapter the author lists separately the ancient and modern authorities consulted, but the text has few source references, and not all readers will be able to judge how far the author's firm and rather definitive statements rest on evidence or upon the opinions and hypotheses of modern writers. In classical history the modern habit of building elaborate hypotheses on purely conjectural data is producing a mass of pseudoscholarly mythology far more misleading than the simple myths and exaggerations of earlier days. Admiral Rodgers's amended figures of the forces employed in the Persian and the Punic wars (pp. 108-116, 272-74, 279) are striking examples of this fashionable vice. Herodotus and Polybius may offer nonsense figures, but it is impossible to distill their exaggerations into accurate facts; if we must deal in fancy figures, let us cling by all means to Herodotus's grand total of 5,283,220 for the army of Xerxes—not counting eunuchs, concubines, and female cooks.

The sections dealing with ship design are inadequate and out of date; the questions involved are disposed of in rather brief and peremptory fashion, as if the author were impatient to drop the matter once for all. "The speed of sailing ships is about the same now as then, for obvious reasons. Briefly, the winds and seas are unchanged, and ships of equal size can carry about the same amount of sail. Consequently, they will make about the same speed." Mr. Sopwith, for one, will hardly be convinced by this reasoning. In discussing the trireme and quinquireme the author examines little evidence from ancient sources but presents instead conjectural "reconstructions" of the present day—chiefly those published by Admiral Serre in 1885. Since then Tarn has shattered pretty completely the vision of a vessel with rowers in many superposed tiers and made clear that it is a philologists' phantasy—one devised by scholars of modern times in the

effort to translate terms they could not understand. Admiral Rodgers does not even mention Tarn's thesis; he alludes buoyantly to "the innumerable sculptures and records of the ancient systems of rowing" and states categorically: "All the evidence from ancient writers, from coins, sculptures, paintings, and inscriptions is that in the triere oars were in three rows, one above the other." Where is this evidence? Where are the innumerable sculptures and records? Actually, no ancient writer has left a description of a ship of war, and not one has stated that there were three superposed banks of oars. This idea has been interpreted *into* various paintings and sculptures, but not one of them is evidence of such a fact. One of the best studies in this field is that by the late Frank Brewster, who notes as to the evidence from Greek coins that "in every case where oars are represented there is only one bank".

Cambridge. T. H. Thomas.

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Tenney Frank *et al.*, eds. Volume III: *Roman Britain,* by R. G. Collingwood; *Roman Spain,* by J. J. Van Nostrand; *Roman Sicily,* by V. M. Scramuzza; *La Gaule Romaine,* by A. Grenier. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. 664. $4.00.)

The main facts in the development of ideas and practices in taxation as well as in the industrial, commercial, and monetary changes of the Roman Empire, already well known, are excellently summarized and interpreted in the present volume. If one general criticism were to be made, however, it would be that the interrelation of taxation, of monetary changes, and of legislative interference with the growth and decline of industrial, agricultural, and commercial activity is not sufficiently emphasized. The period from Augustus to Diocletian is an outstanding example of the process by which state power gradually destroys individual power and thereby ensures its own eventual destruction.

Under Augustus and his immediate successors individual enterprise created a period of great prosperity. Then after a century and a half that prosperity gradually withered. The individuals who rebuilt Lyons after the catastrophe of A. D. 65 were no more enterprising than their descendants who failed to rebuild that city after A. D. 197 (p. 485). The difference was that by the end of the second century the state had destroyed the possibility of the profitable exercise of private energy.

No state, least of all the Roman, apparently, has ever subordinated its own temporary welfare to the welfare of its citizens. As the needs of the Roman state, real or fancied, increased, it took an increasingly larger share of the current income of its citizens and did not hesitate, when it seemed necessary, to consume their capital.

The Roman state interfered with the opportunities for economic advance-

ment available to its citizens in other ways besides taxation. Among these were: tinkering with the currency; development of imperial estates; development of state-owned industries; restrictive legislation. The correlation of these forms of state interference with the datable facts of commercial or industrial activity seems necessary if we are to have a satisfactory economic history of Rome. Without consideration of similar factors no adequate economic history of our last thirty years, for example, could be written. To the correlation of these factors the papers in the present volume fail, it seems, to give due attention.

Apparently it is in this volume of the series that one should look for an account of Roman activity along the Rhine. But the two districts of upper and lower Germany are sketchily handled. In none of the four papers does there seem to be sufficient attention to the amphorae and the interesting picture they present of private trade in wine, oil, and foodstuffs. To note 32 on page 472 might be added the works by Bonsor published by the Hispanic Society of New York.

The volume contains translations of two important documents, Hadrian's mining regulations for Vipasca (p. 167) and Diocletian's Edict (p. 607). The translation of the first does not seem altogether happy. Reference might have been made to Davies, *Roman Mines*, for certain technical points. There is space for comment on only two or three phrases. In the sentence (p. 169) beginning, "If any necessary repairs", is not the idea that the lessee shall not be responsible if operations are suspended because of events beyond his control? Later in the section he is penalized for cessation he might have prevented. In the list of technical operations (p. 170), "clean, crush, smelt", etc., the word "smelt" is perhaps better translated as "roast", an entirely different operation. Is not the meaning of the paragraph (p. 172) beginning, "All mines shall be carefully propped and supported", etc., better expressed as "All shafts shall be carefully shored up and maintained, and the lessee of each shaft shall replace with new and appropriate materials those that have rotted"?

M. Grenier has elected to translate certain portions of Diocletian's Edict, following in this the precedent set by Waddington and Abbott. It is a matter of regret that, having given so much, he did not translate the whole. M. Grenier points out that "l'Edit se plaint vivement du tort que l'inflation des prix cause aux soldats", but one would infer from his other remarks that Diocletian was greatly concerned with the general high cost of the necessities of life. A careful reading of the entire edict, introductions and tables, makes it clear, so it seems, that the emperor was almost entirely concerned with the high cost of supplying his armies, an entirely different matter.

To be considered with this opinion of the edict is the mention by Professor Collingwood (p. 113) of British woolen cloaks as "an article of commerce in the Eastern Empire". If, as has just been stated, the emperor's concern

was really the cost of supplying his armies, then another explanation of the appearance of British cloaks in the edict is possible, namely, that Diocletian was fixing maximum prices that could be charged by British makers for cloaks purchased in Britain by soldiers stationed there. In this event the edict is no evidence for any export business in these garments.

Cleveland. LOUIS C. WEST.

The Mind of Latin Christendom. By EDWARD M. PICKMAN. Volume I, *373-496*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 738. $5.00.)

THIS book is not a "general history of Latin thought in the fifth century", as its author claims (p. 389), neither does it fill the gap left by the failure of "true Christians . . . to write histories that explain history" (p. v). It examines certain problems of Christian theology and the way in which men came to formulate and solve them. The writer approached the question by working back from modern times. The disparity between his thorough study of the Christian literature of his period and of modern research based on it, and his superficial knowledge of the formative period of Christianity (unless we accept his dictum, p. vi, that it was only in the later fourth century that "Christianity began to transform our Latin ancestors") leads to serious errors. This is particularly noticeable in the first chapter and in such passages as the description of the decline of agricultural slavery as a phenomenon of the fourth century under Christian influence (p. 238). On page 132 we are told that "of the many pagan and Christian writers before 450, the only ones to expound a philosophy of history were Augustine and . . . Orosius".

The topics include Augustine, about whom the book centers, miracles, the bishops, justice on earth, free will, monasticism, and the papacy. A chronological table assigns definite dates to stages in their development. The writer's fondness for dates does not preclude inconsistency in their use. For example, the "fall of Rome" is ascribed in various terms to dates ranging from 410 to after 486 (pp. 288, 289, 445, 617). The reader must guard against erroneous statements, misleading analogies, and exaggerated superlatives. But he will find a wide range of well-chosen selections supported by an unwieldy mass of footnotes, with copious references to modern research: here judicious pruning was called for. The book will aid those who need ready access to fifth century opinion on the subjects discussed. The detailed and careful index is therefore a valuable item, as is the full bibliography. The extensive use of Salvian makes one regret the omission of Gerardo Bruni's *Un Apologista della Providenza* (Rome, 1925), but where so much is offered, one cannot complain of individual desiderata

It is a pity that the vast labor of compiling, organizing, and commenting on these materials and translating those for which no acceptable English

versions were available should be marred by such passages as the following, a typical example of the author's generalizations (pp. 288-89):

. . . the fact remains that if there really was an ancient and a medieval civilization there is little evidence of any third one in between. Now, to the extent that we are willing to recognize in Augustine the most brilliant, profound, and enlightened Greek or Roman since Aristotle, we must also admit that Roman intelligence did not begin to decline until after the year 406. And, if this be so, it can hardly be pure chance that, while that last great work of antiquity—the *City of God*—was being written, the barbarians were already overrunning Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. . . . I like to think the Western Empire fell on that day of the year 430 when, in Hippo, besieged by the Vandals, her bishop Augustine died.

Sweet Briar College. EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of English Criminal Procedure. Volume I. By JULIUS GOEBEL, JR. [Publications of the Foundation for Research in Legal History, Columbia University School of Law, edited by Julius Goebel, jr.] (New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1937. Pp. xxix, 455. $5.00.)

THE scope of Professor Goebel's history is wider than its title might indicate to the layman, for he is concerned in this, the first of three volumes, with an examination into the origins of the legal conception of crime as it arose and developed in English law, and his explorations go back into the debatable lands of Teutonic folk law, as well as Frankish, Norman, and Anglo-Saxon custom and edict. The field he covers is indeed immense, and the range of his citations is such that only a reviewer of his own width of reading could adequately appraise all his judgments on previous writers. His main line of argument, however, carries conviction by internal evidence and can be fairly summarized.

Professor Goebel is writing for students and practitioners of the law, to whom, it would seem, the legal concepts he dethrones are more sacred than they are to students of history. His main contention, which is of great significance to the latter, is that criminal justice does not derive, as Wilda and Brunner taught, from a general folk peace or even, as Pollock and Maitland taught, from the extension of a king's peace which "devours all others" (p. 428), the breach of which concerned the state and not merely the individual, but from a variety of causes bound up with the practical issues of who should judge, how judgment should be given, and, above all, how judgment should be enforced. It is with the growth of the executive power and the practical efficiency of the ruler that the notion and the fact of criminal law develop. The need begets the machinery, and the machinery begets the theory. It is an illuminating interpretation of the

dark ages of legal history and one that commends itself readily to the historian, who is, to use William James's immortal phrase, more "tough-minded" than the lawyer. (To the student of contemporary history, it may be added, it suggests most forcibly an analogy and possibly a prophecy as to the course of development of the practice and theory of international law.)

Rejecting a primitive folk peace as nonproven, Professor Goebel fixes on the king's *bannus* of the Merovingian monarchy, the right to exact effective sanctions for disobedience of a royal command, including the violation of the *verbum regis* or royal *mund*, as the earliest source of criminal procedure, and therefore of the notion of crime, in our law. The development of the means of enforcing the royal command, by hue and cry, distress and sequestration, the use of the inquest for the denunciation of offences, and the increase in the category of offences which might be thus denounced and punished are traced through the Carolingian period, along with the growing centralization of royal authority. He stresses the importance of the immunity, as preserving intact in the succeeding period of disintegration the characteristics of royal judicial authority, accepting, as fully established by Kroell, the exercise of delegated judicial and administrative powers by the holders of the great ecclesiastical immunities of France. The monastic establishments, it might almost be said, held the fort till the coming of the Norman dukes (p. 191). The feudal magnates, as they took over the work of jurisdiction from the older communal courts, vindicated their rights, as Halphen and Ganshof have shown, by their power to enforce the penalty awarded by the court. "Until this concept [of penalty] is completely embedded in the law . . . the shift from tort to crime cannot take place" (pp. 224-5). "Profit being the chord to which all the discords of the ancient procedures were resolved", grants will be interpreted to yield the right to mulct offenders, and the lords will assume the power to create new offences by legislation. The specific contribution of feudalism to criminal law is the conception of felony—the word appears at last on page 250—as not merely disobedience but breach of faith, involving loss of status and the disabling quality of "infamy".

The last two sections of the volume deal with the Norman duchy and the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman kingdom. The field is narrowing; and as the author begins to handle more familiar documents his interpretation may provoke more dispute. In his treatment of Norman law and government it appears to the present writer that he is hardly justified in completely excluding the possible influence of Norse law and custom (pp. 188 ff.), whilst his trenchant treatment of Haskins's and Powicke's interpretation of the inquest of 1091 (pp. 281-6) is hardly justified by the evidence or lack of evidence adduced. On page 284 he speaks of "Ganshof's proof of the ubiquitous metamorphosis of the Frankish *mallus publicus* into

a court of vassals" as evidence of the disappearance of the concept of public law in Normandy as well as elsewhere. Dr. Ganshof, however, would be far from claiming such universal validity for his conclusions, which concern only one county in Burgundy, and his own studies of Flemish courts, together with the evidence published by Delisle for Normandy, suggest forcibly that the survival of legal concepts might vary from province to province (see *Speculum*, X, 193-5). To Professor Goebel the significant point in the history of the Norman duchy is the proclamation of the Truce of God at the Synod of Caen (1042-47) with the assumption by the duke at the Council of Lillebonne in 1080 of the task of punishing truce breakers. The list of offences which are later called the pleas of the sword are thus attributed in the first instance to an ecclesiastical demand. The evidence, however, is so scanty that it seems particularly unsafe to rely on the argument from silence to the extent necessary for the establishment of this thesis.

In the sphere of Anglo-Saxon justice Dr. Goebel, like Mr. Jolliffe in his last book, emphasizes the fact that in England, unlike France, franchisal rights were from first to last regarded as emanating from the crown. This adds to the significance of the citation by twelfth and thirteenth century liberty-holders of Anglo-Saxon terms of grant and underlines the debt which, as we are coming to appreciate, the Norman kings owed to their island predecessors. But Professor Goebel is exceedingly reluctant to admit that these grants conveyed judicial or, as he calls them, courtholding functions to the beneficiaries. He upholds the view of Henry Adams, that only the profits and not the administration of justice was transferred. The grants of hundreds not only in the tenth but even in the eleventh century, by Canute and Edward the Confessor, did not, he believes, involve the disappearance of the royal hundred reeves, and every charter that purports to exclude them is suspect—sometimes on rather inadequate grounds, as when it is assumed (p. 355, n. 62) that the use of the witness of the shire, so universally recognized as valid by William the Conqueror, proves that no written evidence existed, and that Edward the Confessor's writ granting Hormer hundred to Abingdon Abbey is a forgery, in spite of the fact that Henry I's charter confirming the privileges that the abbey had enjoyed under William and Edward the Confessor specifies those privileges as consisting of the exclusion of the sheriff and his subordinates from the hundred.

Professor Goebel believes that these franchises included neither "judicial powers" (p. 374) nor "judiciary rights" (p. 375). On the other hand, he accepts Liebermann's view that the grant of a hundred involved the right to appoint the presiding officer and to take the profits (p. 343, n. 21). The profits being in part the fees for the executive services of the presiding official, it would seem to follow that the franchise-holder's reeve executes the judgments of the court. What other functions are left for the royal

reeves to exercise? Does Professor Goebel hold that the judgments are no longer given by the suitors of the court? From his remark that Vinogradoff's discussion of suit is irrelevant to the matter of justice (*loc. cit.*) it would seem that he does, but no evidence is offered in support of this assumption, which, unless the present writer is mistaken, underlies his whole treatment of the subject, in which suit of court is scarcely mentioned. Yet when Clackclose hundred was granted to Ramsey Abbey by Edward the Confessor sixty-four sokemen went with the hundred, and this in a part of England where *sockemanmot* survived till the thirteenth century as a name for the hundred court (see *Speculum,* X, 199). Professor Goebel, in denying the existence of private jurisdiction in England before 1066, is apparently only denying the existence of feudal jurisdiction on the contemporary French pattern or of a franchisal jurisdiction that can be equated with post-conquest royal jurisdiction in England. His contention that new processes of detention and punishment may produce new categories of offence does not of itself involve the supersession of the old technique of judging by a new one.

As to the possible association of regalian rights with the grant of land, Professor Goebel overlooks the well-established dependence of hundreds upon capital manors, going back to the ninth century (see *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* XLVII, 353 ff.). In the case of hundreds held by Winchester, St. Albans, and Worcester before 1066 it is also true to say that almost every yard of the soil is held by the lord of the hundred, and at a later date there does seem to be a fusion of manorial and franchisal jurisdiction.

The argument (p. 390, n. 185) as to the ignorance of the hundred court overlooks the fact that every hundred moot would contain at least some suitors of the shire court, whilst the *nesciunt quo warranto* of 1274 may be a euphemism for "they know that he has no warrant".

The reference to the "eviscerated public hundred courts with nothing but the ungranted thief jurisdiction" (p. 397) misses the point of the citation. If suit is owed only to the *hundredum ad latrocinium,* this means that an especially large number of judges and witnesses are required on that occasion, and the same thing applies in private courts with *infangtheof;* suitors who have obtained exemption from the ordinary three-weekly suit are often bound to attend the court "when the King's writ is to be pleaded or when thieves are to be judged".

Professor Goebel, with the vast majority, uses the expression *trinoda necessitas* (p. 354), which was shown by W. H. Stevenson in 1914 to be a misreading of *trimoda* in the unique manuscript occurrence of the word (see the article by E. J. Davis, *History,* XIII, 33). He refers once more to the "artful policy" of William the Conqueror (p. 337) in dispersing the tenures of individuals, citing as his authority Ballard, who expressly asserts (*The Domesday Inquest,* p. 100) that the dispersion in question dates back

to before the Conquest since, as Round showed, the Domesday tenant in such cases is again and again the successor of an Anglo-Saxon tenant.

Too many problems are raised by Professor Goebel's study of the evolution of Anglo-Norman law in the *Quadripartitus* and the *Leges Henrici* for any adequate discussion here. He follows Liebermann in distinguishing the common pleas covered by a grant of sake and soke from the special or singular pleas that are the embryonic pleas of the crown. In one instance he misinterprets the text: the *causae singulorum* of *Leges Henrici,* 7, 8, are not the *sokna singularis* or "sole royal pleas" of 19, 2, but are those of 7, 3, where the order of precedence gives first the pleas of the church, next the pleas of the king, and lastly those of private persons (*singuli*). The writer is explaining that the same rules apply to the hundred that he has already given for the shire court.

The chain of argument is still incomplete at the end of this first volume, since only in the treatment of Henry II's innovations will the full force of the author's thesis become clear, but the debt of students of English constitutional history to Dr. Goebel is already heavy, both for the light he throws on dark places and for the stimulus to re-examine their assumptions, even if they fail always to be convinced. The form of the work provokes some regret that more of the matter in the footnotes has not been incorporated in the text: the reader is in effect compelled to read two parallel texts, and the tracing of a reference is a labor of Hercules.

Girton College, Cambridge. HELEN M. CAM.

Histoire de l'Europe des invasions au XVI^e^ siècle. Par HENRI PIRENNE, membre de l'Académie royale de Belgique, associé de l'Académie des inscriptions de France, professeur émérite de l'Université de Gand. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1936. Pp. xiii, 487. 50 fr.)

BEFORE the World War Pirenne had planned to write a general history of Europe, but no one, he least of all, could have foreseen the conditions under which the work would actually be composed. As a prisoner of war Pirenne had spent some time at Jena, where his original idea came to mind again, but it was not until he was sent to spend long, weary months in the little Thuringian village of Creuzburg-an-der-Werra that work was actually begun. It was by writing this synthesis that Pirenne helped to discipline and comfort himself in a time of great anxiety. The book is indeed a *de consolatione historiae.*

Though regretting that he was deprived of a library and his notes, Pirenne found compensation and reward in the fact that he was completely free to think through the many fundamental problems his task necessitated without the interruptions incident to normal ways of life. The essay, for such it really is, is divided into nine books and covers the period from the end of Roman supremacy in the West to about the year 1550, where it

leaves off abruptly. The work was to have been continued to cover the period down to 1914.

Although Pirenne wrote this volume during a period of bitter strife, he is thoroughly objective, showing no trace of the animosity and invective current when it was composed. In it Pirenne dominates from beginning to end. Here readers of his other works will recognize the lucid, balanced, perfect style which characterized all his writing, the apt and illuminating analogy of which he was so fond, the recurrent allusion to the animate, the moving, the human when he spoke in simile. As one would expect, many pages of the book are devoted to recording and explaining the subtle facts of social and economic change, facts which Pirenne could handle with a sureness and precision which few could rival. During his captivity Pirenne had taken up the study of the Russian language, and the effects of this new enthusiasm and accomplishment are strikingly evident in the brilliant short sketches which deal with Slavic lands. While writing the first part of the volume the ideas that were to be developed later in *Medieval Cities,* in many monographs, and finally in *Mahomet et Charlemagne* were taking form in his mind, and they are discovered here as convictions which he had yet to explore. The book is a brilliant legacy from one of the noblest scholars of modern times.

Princeton University. GRAY C. BOYCE.

The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul. By SOLOMON KATZ, Instructor in History, University of Washington. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1937. Pp. xi, 182, Plates VI. $3.50.)

THE subject selected by Dr. Katz is not an easy one. Satisfactory studies in the field of Jewish history require a thorough familiarity not only with the general sources and the literature about the countries in which the Jews dwelt but also with the Hebrew material, and the latter is widely scattered and for the most part has not been adequately dealt with. Comprehensive monographs on the Jews of different countries and definite periods, like the present work, fill, therefore, a real lacuna.

The sources for the period with which the volume deals are very scanty and to a large extent consist of laws about which we often cannot tell how far they were observed. For Spain, Juster's study on the legislation deals exhaustively with most of the problems; for Gaul, Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1887-1902), has collected and evaluated most of the sources. If the author had given references to this important publication all along, we could see how much new material he has added, aside from the literature of the last fifty years. As far as the non-Jewish material is concerned, Dr. Katz has done a very creditable piece of work. He shows a thorough acquaintance

with the sources and literature and evaluates both critically. The work gives evidence of industry and sound method.

Less satisfactory is the treatment of the Jewish aspect. Here we find an unfortunate lack of familiarity with fundamentals. Isidore of Seville, we read (p. 35), wrote against the beliefs of the Jews, particularly those found in the Mishnah. But this ancient code summarizes the oral law and has very little to do with beliefs. The characterization of the Midrash as a "verse by verse commentary" on the Bible (p. 71) rules out a large part of it. The secular head of Babylonian Jewry is made spiritual ruler of the Jewish world (p. 77), a position held to some extent by the heads of the Babylonian academies.

The statement (p. 39, n. 4, and p. 68) that the Jews of Gaul possessed mystical works from the time of Natronai II ben Hillel [read Hilai], in the early ninth century, is based on a mistake in an unreliable text. Long ago it was shown that the great majority of manuscripts rightly read Spain in place of Gaul; and the Natronai referred to is not the head of an academy but the exilarch Natronai ben Haninai, who was deposed in 773.

The *Seder Olam Zutta* of the eighth century is confused with the older *Seder Olam* of the second century (p. 77, n. 5, where the reference is wrong: pp. 26-27 instead of 73 of Neubauer's collection). An Aramaic title occurring in this source is called Hebrew and is quoted incorrectly. If the author had not ventured into the field of Hebrew, he would have avoided some serious blunders. He transliterates the common Hebrew name Meshullam into Mishalom (pp. 65, 165), the name Jamnus (p. 164) he derives from a nonexisting Hebrew word *Iamnus* = happiness, and so on.

Fortunately for the author, there are very few Hebrew sources for this period, and therefore these shortcomings, of which only a few examples have been given, do not detract very much from the value of this otherwise careful and meritorious study.

Jewish Theological Seminary. ALEXANDER MARX.

Early Medieval Medicine, with Special Reference to France and Chartres. By LOREN C. MACKINNEY, Professor of Medieval History, University of North Carolina. [The Hideyo Noguchi Lectures. Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. 245. Pl. IX. $2.75.)

PROFESSOR MacKinney has converted or developed the Hideyo Noguchi Lectures which he delivered before the Institute of the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University into a book of a tripartite character. First come the lectures themselves, also three in number. In the opening lecture the author strives to restrict "The Dark Age Concept" to its proper limits and to disabuse his readers of various common misapprehensions as to early medieval medicine. He then proceeds to survey medicine in Merovingian

and Carolingian France and at Chartres in the tenth and eleventh centuries. His method is to note side lights on the history of medicine in such historical sources as the works of Gregory of Tours, Einhard, Richer, and Fulbert of Chartres, as well as to estimate the medical literature in the narrower and stricter sense. In the lectures the reflection of the state of medicine in the general literary and historical works of the time seems to be most stressed, as it was in his earlier paper, "Tenth-Century Medicine as seen in the Historia of Richer of Rheims" (*Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine,* II, 1934, 347-75), and to constitute his chief distinctive contribution. In the notes, or second part of his book (pp. 153-211), we are informed in some detail as to a number of medical manuscripts in French libraries as well as supplied with references to and fairly full quotation in the Latin text from the aforesaid historians and men of letters. MacKinney denies that two important early medical codices originated at Chartres, as previous writers had supposed, and inclines to trace them back to the monastery of Fleury near Orleans. Finally, in what may be called the third part of the work a number of plates are reproduced from the early medical manuscripts.

There follows a rather full index, but manuscripts are there indexed only in a general and half-hearted way under libraries, as "Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), manuscripts of, 77, 98, 110ff., 121". This entry is insufficient and faulty, since such manuscripts are described on a number of later pages, for example, on pp. 179-81, 188-92, 195-98, and 204. More than this, Professor MacKinney has alluded to a sufficiently large number of manuscripts to make a separate indexing by their individual shelf marks highly desirable, especially since most of them are described or mentioned only in the notes or plates.

The recent work of Jacques Tribalet, *Histoire médicale de Chartres jusqu'au XII^e siècle: Sur un texte inédit chartrain du X^e siècle, "Horus Isagoge Sarani"* (Paris, Vigot frères, 1936, 154 pp.), seems to have come out too late to be noticed in the present volume. It is unfavorably reviewed as faulty in its textual work in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 98 (1937), 166.

Unfortunately, an inordinate number of minor inaccuracies mark and mar the volume before us. Even the English quotations in the text from such readily accessible works as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* are often inexact. In the notes authors' names are mutilated, titles are incorrectly worded, the numbers given for volumes and pages are incorrect or the citation cannot be found at all, while the Latin quotations are full of misprints and errors. In the space available it is possible to list only a few instances of such lapses. (When the prevalence of these slips forced itself upon my attention on a first casual inspection of the volume, I turned it over for verification of the references and correctness of the Latin to two members of my seminar, Francis S. Benjamin, jr., and Kenneth M. Setton, who

within a week's time filled a score of pages with instances of misprints, misreadings, miscitations, and misquotations.) On p. 1, the initials of Professor Beeson are C. H., not C. W.; p. 74, l. 9, *infimary* should be *infirmary;* p. 79, l. 18, *form* should be *from;* p. 92, l. 16, *this* should be *his;* p. 153, n. 7, the volume of Lavisse should be II, not III; p. 154, n. 15, *Beiträge der Medizin* should be *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Medizin,* while *Frühmittelalterlich Rezeptarien* may vie as bad German with *Frühmittelalterlichen Rezeptliteratur,* which on p. 158, n. 45, is cited as the same work but evidently is not; p. 155, n. 28, "Quae [i.e. filius eius]" should be "Quae [i.e. filia eius]", while in n. 29 the volume of Migne should be 184, not 134, and that of the *Monumenta, Epistolae,* II, not I; p. 157, n. 32, *daemonici* should be *daemoniaci,* while in n. 34 *afflictionis* should be *afflictiones, ex templo* should be *extemplo, eggressus* should be *egressus,* and *Auga* should be *Aura;* p. 158, n. 48, *Mensa* should be *Mansa;* p. 159, n. 49, *voraris* should be *vorarit,* while in n. 52 *Petibus* should be *Potibus,* and in n. 53 *leprosus* should be *leprosos;* p. 160, n. 63, *Eckkart* should be *Eckhart,* while in n. 62 *ipso* ought to be *ipsa;* pp. 163-65, n. 80, there are no fewer than ten errors, *Archiatorum* instead of *Archiatrorum, gloriosus* instead of *gloriosius, eximus* for *eximius, contentiones* for *contentionis, distingue* for *discinge, contentiones noxias* for *contentiones eorum noxias, De suo languore* for *De suo vero languore, offerentur* instead of *offeruntur,* and *benedicii* for *beneficii;* p. 165, n. 81 gives the incorrect spelling "Neuberger", although the name has just been properly spelled two lines above; p. 178, l. 9, "Xenodochia leprosarium suburbana" is wrong in every word, the original having "Xenodochio leprosorum . . . suburbano"; p. 180, l. 25, *Alexandria* should be *Alexandriae,* as it is correctly given at p. 197, l. 4; p. 184, n. 160, *tecta* should read *secta;* p. 185, n. 169, part of the quotation is from cap. xxx, not xxii, and an entire line of text has been omitted before *sustenante;* p. 182, n. 156, and p. 184, n. 161, *pigmentarum* should be *pigmentorum;* p. 187, n. 184, *odi* should be *adi;* p. 211, within a space of seven lines are three incorrect spellings of proper names, "Gentil de Fulgineo" for Gentilis de Fulgineo or Gentile da Foligno, "Aegidius de Corbel" for Aegidius Corboliensis or Gilles de Corbeil, and "Cormer" for Corner.

Columbia University. LYNN THORNDIKE.

Viking Settlers in Greenland and their Descendants during Five Hundred Years. By POUL NÖRLUND, Keeper of Mediaeval Antiquities at the Danish National Museum, with a Foreword by Ellis H. Minns Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge. Translated from the Danish by W. E. Calvert. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. 160. $4.25.)

THE ultimate fate of the Icelandic colony in Greenland, established by

Eric the Red about 986, is a perplexing problem of long standing. Did this branch of the Scandinavian race emigrate westwards, as has been suggested, or become extinct? Were the last survivors killed by the Eskimos, or did they intermix with the Eskimos? These are questions which no one can answer with certainty, but we seem now to be moving nearer toward a solution of the problem. During the last fifteen years or so Danish archaeologists have been carrying on excavations in Greenland which have proved to be important in many respects, and especially because of the light they throw upon the last two centuries of the existence of the colony. The results have been published from time to time in the Danish series *Meddelelser om Grønland,* and it was a happy thought to give to the public a general account of the work which has been accomplished and the conclusions which can be drawn therefrom, together with the history of the colony from the beginning, as is done in the book under review. Dr. Nörlund, the author, has directed most of these excavations, and his story is most interesting and instructive.

The ruins and cemeteries have been left practically undisturbed by the Eskimos, and the frozen ground has preserved many things which otherwise might have been destroyed. These finds give us not only an insight into the life of the colonists themselves but even glimpses of medieval life in general. Thus the garments found in the cemetery at Herjolfsnes are said to be the only specimens now in existence of the dress with a liripipe hood commonly worn in the later Middle Ages and otherwise known solely from contemporary pictures. The human skeletons also tell their tale, a melancholy one. It is evident from them that the Greenlanders of the fourteenth century had degenerated, were undersized, suffered from various diseases caused by lack of proper and sufficient nourishment, and died at an early age, but there are no signs of any intermixture with the Eskimos. This hardy group of men apparently carried on for a long time a desperate struggle for existence and, having been left to their own devices and neglected by their temporal and spiritual rulers, finally succumbed either to disease, we may suppose, or to the assaults of the Eskimos, or both. It has been generally assumed that sailings to Greenland from Europe stopped early in the fifteenth century, but certain things in these finds, as the Burgundy cap, seem to indicate that there were communications as late as the latter half of that century, though no records of them are to be found, nor can it be ascertained of what kind they were.

What were the causes of the decline of this colony which formerly was comparatively prosperous? The author mentions several, among them lack of a market for its principal products (*e.g.,* walrus and narwhal tusks) and the advance of the Eskimos, but he seems to lay the principal stress upon climatic changes. For evidence he relies partly upon the conditions of the graves at Herjolfsnes, partly upon the extent of the ice drift in later times.

Like some other historians, moreover, he thinks that these changes prevailed in the rest of the North and caused the social and economical decline in Iceland and Norway which took place in both these countries at the end of the Middle Ages. This climatic theory may at first glance seem plausible so far as Greenland is concerned, but it is nevertheless unwarranted, as is clearly shown when it is applied to the other northern lands in whose history no evidence in support of it is to be found. The tragic end of the colony was made inevitable by the unpardonable failure of the Norwegian government to maintain communication with it. It is to be hoped that the Danes will continue these excavations which have proved to be of such paramount importance; there is still much work to be done among the ruins.

The book is well written and contains excellent illustrations; one misses only the full-page map of Greenland to be found in the original Danish edition. Exception may be taken to the title *Viking Settlers,* which is not a translation of the original title. It is becoming all too common in English and American writings to use the word Viking in connection with various things relating to the early history of the Northmen where it is not appropriate. This is a case in point. These settlers were no Vikings; they were industrious farmers and as peaceful as it was possible to be in those somewhat turbulent times.

Cornell University. HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON.

The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands, 1199-1399. By J. H. LE PATOUREL, Lecturer in History, University of London, University College. [Oxford Historical Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 136. $2.50.)

THE Channel Islands, as the one fragment of Normandy remaining under English rule after 1204, have a twofold interest to the student of medieval institutions. Their isolation makes it possible to study them as a special example of English administrative methods, with none of the dangers which ordinarily arise from arbitrary segregation of one district from its neighbors. Their past connection with Normandy makes it possible to assume that their local government demonstrates the logical development of institutions and customs which were stunted and distorted in the duchy as a result of the French conquest.

Mr. Le Patourel has made important contributions to the institutional history of the islands. His study of the policy of the English government toward these distant possessions is especially good. Here we have the rise and fall of the medieval English government reproduced in miniature. First comes increasing centralization, multiplication of royal officials, closer connections with England. The general eyre is introduced and the local customs of the islands are attacked in *quo warranto* proceedings. Then comes the slow weakening of the administration after 1330. The eyres cease, English

courts no longer try cases originating in the Islands, and self-government develops by default.

In his study of the local administration the author does not treat the survival of Norman institutions as a separate problem. However, in most cases he finds Norman precedents and Norman parallels. Thus it is clear that the economic organization of the Islands was very like that of Normandy. The position of the peasants, the system of tenures, the revenues of the sovereign were all based on Norman practice. The court system, centering in the vicomtal pleas and the assizes, was also Norman. The assertion of this similarity might have been carried further. The jurats, who gave judgment in the island courts, were an unusual body. Mr. Le Patourel finds the closest parallel to them in the early *scabini*. Might they not be considered a more formalized replica of the group of knights who gave judgment in Norman courts during the thirteenth century? A more detailed description of legal process would have been welcome. How far did the Islands duplicate the Norman experience of subordinating recognitions and possessory assizes to new procedures? It is to be hoped that Mr. Le Patourel, with his thorough knowledge of island and Norman sources, will carry the comparison of the institutions of the two countries somewhat further in future studies.

Princeton University. JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

Guido de Columnis: Historia Destructionis Troiae. Edited by NATHANIEL EDWARD GRIFFIN. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 26.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1936. Pp. xvii, 293. $4.00.)

THE editor of this text remarks in his introduction that no printed edition of this work has appeared since 1494. The lack which he has endeavored to fill was thus a great one, particularly in view of the extraordinarily wide diffusion of the work in the Middle Ages. Mr. Griffin remarks that he has located 136 manuscripts of the treatise. The edition before us is a sumptuously produced volume in the tradition of the Mediaeval Academy.

But it is not a satisfying book. The text is constructed from five primary manuscripts with the addition of a few readings from three others and many from the Strasbourg incunabula of 1486 and 1489. The basis upon which the five primary manuscripts were chosen from the 136 known to Mr. Griffin is that they were the earliest dated copies, from 1338 to 1353. The earliest is therefore almost a half century after the composition of the work. It is highly improbable that out of 136 known copies a very considerable number should not be closer to the archetype than 47 years. Any competent paleographer can date thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts more closely than that with assurance. Furthermore it is customary to distinguish texts as much by their quality as by their age. In any given case the oldest

manuscript may well be inferior, but the consensus of older manuscripts will undoubtedly offer a superior text. Mr. Griffin gives no evidence of having taken account of this criterion. He admits that the manuscript he used as a basis for his text turned out to be inferior. For a work as important as this might have been, such a conclusion should have compelled a complete revision of the text. The description of the manuscripts is inadequate. It is not enough to say that a manuscript was written north or south of the Alps. It is possible to place a script of the later Middle Ages within one of a half-dozen zones in Western Europe with a large degree of confidence. The section entitled "Description of the MSS" is 23 lines in length. The editor does not even tell the folia in the manuscripts which the work occupies, save for the one he uses as a basis for the text. The last section of the introduction, "The Character and Influence of the *Historia*", consists of only one page. A printed text of 276 pages would seem to justify more comprehensive treatment. The promise of a further treatment does not fill the gap for the reader who has the text before him.

The Latin text itself is chaotic. The reader finds *ut* and *vt* indiscriminately, *Troya* and *Troia, uetustas* and *viuerent, refferre* and *referre, strennuus* and *strenuus, Achilles* and *Acchilles, eciam* and *etiam, pretium* and *preciosus, scientia* and *presciencia, urbem* and *vrbem, odium* and *hodiosus,* often on the same page, and many others of the same sort. Sound editorial practice demands of a critical text uniformization. It is not as if we were dealing with a unique manuscript or Guido's autograph. Frequently the reading in the text is clearly inferior to the variant reading given in the footnotes. There are no footnotes which would guide the student in tracing the nonclassical allusions in the body of the work. Patristic and Biblical quotations or allusions, of which there are many, should have been run down and reference to standard editions given. There is a "Glossary of Uncommon Words" appended (pp. 277-79). A reader at all familiar with medieval Latin will be surprised to find there, even with and often because of the Engish equivalents, such words as *acceptare, abinvicem, anhelosus, contra, dealbatura, homagium, eclipsari, manutenere, sigillare, requisicio,* and many others.

It is unfortunate that the Mediaeval Academy has lent its authority to such an uncritical and careless piece of work.

University of Colorado. S. Harrison Thomson.

Studies in the Constitutional History of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. By B. Wilkinson, Lecturer in History in the University. [Tout Memorial Publication Fund.] (Manchester: University Press. 1937. Pp. xx, 289. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a series of thoughtful essays dealing with parliament and the council in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They are based on the

numerous articles and books produced since students began to realize that the constitutional problems of that period were still unsolved. The author has consulted in addition the immense quantities of source material now in print that make it possible for those of us who are far away from the Record Office to work on at the thirteenth and succeeding centuries. A final chapter incorporates his conclusions on the general significance of these researches.

Broadly speaking, Dr. Wilkinson challenges accepted views. He doubts whether the king's council, a shifting group, was made up of both professional officials and magnates; whether it possessed indefinite and expansible powers; and whether it was the source of later councils and courts. He separates it rigidly from the king in the thirteenth century in the effort to determine the powers which it exercised independently. He concludes rightly that it had none at the outset, that it was merely a group of royal advisers, even (and here he seems to go too far) just a small group of "ministerial" advisers. He points out that it was, in composition, a shifting body but believes that each of its variations took on a fixed character; that we have therefore not a council with a varying membership, depending in part on the desires of the king, its head, but a series of councils which were deliberately changed in composition from one period to another. To take a striking example, when the king was a minor, or incompetent, or for some reason temporarily in eclipse, a council emerged, possessing extensive judicial, administrative, and legislative powers. Most of us would say that while the body had been formally set up by the barons, these great and varied powers which it exercised were only the ordinary powers exercised at other times by the king, acting through his council. But the author regards these special bodies as different in kind from the "normal" council.

Parliament, the author decides, was not essentially a judicial body till the reign of Edward II, although it performed an immense amount of judicial work earlier. It "began and ended in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, primarily as a political body called together to meet the fundamental necessity for a medieval monarch to consult his subjects about matters which were their concern". Here he is contrasting with parliament a definite small council and ignoring the flexible structure of the latter body and the comprehensive character of its activities, which were carried out under the direction of the sovereign.

There is an interesting section concerning taxation on wool (with which one should read Unwin, *Finance and Trade under Edward III*), discussing the dispute which arose between the commons primarily and the king over the levy of the maltolte, in which we see the development of the law on this point. Dr. Wilkinson argues with force that till 1340 the commons urged its abolition on the ground that it was harmful to the nation rather than that it was illegal for the king to levy it with the consent of the merchants alone. Slowly they recognized that while the merchants granted the tax,

its incidence fell on the people in country and town (first precisely stated in the statute of 1343), and in 1340 they asked that it be not levied thereafter except by grant in parliament. Edward III gradually ceased his arrangements with the merchants and secured this tax from parliament. Thus after half a century and more, that commonalty by whose common assent and good will Edward I had promised in 1297 that he would henceforth levy the maltolte of wools was defined as the commons in parliament. Dr. Wilkinson suggests that the concession by the king was due to the realization that this tax, through the operation of economic laws, fell upon those who were represented in the house of commons. May it not be due perhaps to a political opposition in parliament of the wool growers and the body of wool merchants who felt that the great monopolists with whom Edward III dealt were depriving them of their normal profits in the wool trade? Perhaps the king and his council felt that a grant in parliament would secure a greater yield in taxes because it would create among the great mass of taxpayers a willingness to co-operate with the government in assessment and collection.

While one may not agree with all of the author's conclusions, that does not detract from the value and interest of these essays, fortified as they are by a mass of concrete illustrative material.

Yale University. SYDNEY K. MITCHELL.

Fourteenth Century Studies. By MAUDE VIOLET CLARKE. Edited by L. S. Sutherland, Fellow and Tutor of Somerville College, and May McKisack, Fellow and Tutor of Somerville College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xxi, 317. $7.00.)

IT would be difficult to conceive of a more suitable tribute to Maude Violet Clarke than the present publication of her collected papers. Prefaced by a portrait and a short memoir, these nine studies together bear witness to the scope of her talent and to the quality of her historical work. The papers range from an inquiry into the beginnings of the Lancastrian faction of 1388 to an evaluation of the Wilton Diptych of Richard II in the National Gallery and of the library catalogue of Leicester Abbey. Miss Clarke was at her best in the monograph, which gave room both for the critical dissection of detail and for the relating of it to generally accepted historical outlines. Two papers, written as introductions to editions of the Kirkstall and Dieulacres Chronicles, illustrate this skill in criticizing sources and in reconstructing the setting of the whole; both add new facts to our information about the deposition of Richard II, while the latter shows that the official version of his free resignation at Conway and of his cheerful bearing in the Tower (*Rotuli Parliamentorum,* III, 416 f.) was deliberately falsified by antiroyalists. The usual interpretations of Richard's absolutism and tyranny are thus opened to serious criticism. Another study of the same

period, on the forfeitures of 1388, is among the best in the collection and contains provocative suggestions regarding the definition of the law of treason, arguing *inter alia* that the statute of 1352 was less the result of common petition than the work of men like Arundel and Mortimer, who hoped by defining the substantive law of treason to prevent a recurrence of the confiscations of Edward II.

Miss Clarke's work, however, is uneven, and while she could strike out new paths, she could also be fettered by traditional views or the intensity of her own convictions. Her belief, like that of Stubbs and G. B. Adams, that ministerial responsibility was inherent in the medieval constitution mars an otherwise excellent essay on the origin of impeachment. It is not true that impeachment asserted the principle of the responsibility of rulers to subjects (p. 270), or that there was any preoccupation with constitutional principles in the impeachment of Latimer in 1376. Other weaknesses come out in a very unfortunate paper on the Irish parliaments of Edward II. Miss Clarke regarded the Dublin parliament of 1297 as the earliest and "Model", heralding John Wogan, the justiciar, as founder of the constitution (pp. 2, 3, 161). Early records, however (most of which she overlooked—except the Irish Pipe Rolls, which she apparently believed were still in existence), indicate that the first parliament was held at Castledermot in 1264 (*Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland,* p. 141) and give evidence of at least fourteen parliaments held before 1297. Representatives of the commons were certainly present at the meeting of 1292, and burgesses were consulted as early as 1244. The author has missed the fact that the purpose of Edwardian parliaments was never exclusively political and legislative (pp. 15-16); as in the English parliament, petitions were presented, pleas heard, and fealty rendered. And if the reader looks for *obiter dicta* on comparative procedure in Ireland, Scotland, and England, he will not find them.

A long paper on the administration of William of Windsor in Ireland and his connection with parliamentary history completes the collection. There are few misprints, most faulty references have been corrected, and some attempt has been made to make footnote usage uniform. It should be added that certain long notes and portions of the *pièces justificatives* in the original papers have been omitted without so indicating, and that some readings in the documents (especially pp. 184 ff.) differ unaccountably from the original. The editors, however, are to be thanked for bringing Miss Clarke's studies before the wider audience they deserve.

Harvard University. G. L. Haskins.

Europe's Discovery of South Africa. By The Reverend Sidney R. Welch. (Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1937. Pp. 365. 15*s.*)

"South Africa makes her bow on the stage of European history as a province of the little kingdom of Portugal." These words on the first page

of the learned and vigorous book before us acknowledge the debt of South Africa to the Portuguese mariners led and inspired by the great Prince Henry. Written and printed, fittingly, in Cape Town, Dr. Welch's study is a worthy presentation of the epic achievements of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. While the title is misleading, the material within the covers is of exceptional quality. The book describes, on the basis of copious original sources, scrupulously examined, the Portuguese discovery of Africa's western and southern coasts and the sea routes to the Indies. It prepares us for measuring this achievement by giving an illuminating history of Portugal from the beginning of its independent history in 1094 down to the time of Prince Henry's birth in 1394 and by revealing the exact state of geographical knowledge available to Prince Henry when he first dreamed of reaching India by circumnavigating Africa.

The material is presented with good sense and spirit. Wholeheartedly admiring the Portuguese and the culture of medieval Christianity, the author may here and there go beyond the just point in evaluation, but it is refreshing and salutary to let skeptical breezes play with the haloes which have gathered over the heads of Columbus and the medieval Arab scientists, as it is to read an author who insists that medieval geography cannot be assessed from ecclesiastical maps and must be studied in those careful working drawings of the earth and its waters, the portolan charts. What if they are relatively rare! Like the early almanacs and grammars from the first printing presses, their very usefulness assured them mutilation and early death, but their existence cannot be disregarded in the annals of history.

Granted that the main object of maritime exploration in the fifteenth century was a practicable sea route to the Indies, the Portuguese carried off the palm in having furthered and brought to success their own "easterly" project, which took their ships eventually to the goal around the Cape of Good Hope. Columbus, in this perspective, was an ill-advised mariner, sailing westward and stumbling upon the Bahamas and upon a fame disproportionate to his merit.

The book gains strength from the author's own competence in African geography and history. Dr. Welch does not stop at the coastline; he explores the hinterland, distinguishes the Tuareg and the Hottentot, the Bushman and the Bantu, discovers the wealth of the Negro kingdom of the Mali, and thus reveals the conditions of European exploration on that continent. And as Africa here becomes part of the real world of human experience, so Prince Henry's achievement appears less miraculous and far more admirable as a human accomplishment when his sources of knowledge are displayed, the economic set-up of Portugal is described, and the financing of exploratory enterprise is laid bare.

The book makes no parade of alphabetic bibliography, but there are a full hundred pages of notes, wherein practically the whole copious body of

literature on the subject is mentioned (unfortunately omitting dates and places of publication), often with discerning criticism. It is withal a valuable, an honest, and an excellent study, the best general book on its subject in any language.

Duke University. ERNEST W. NELSON.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Erster Band. Von M. J. ELSAS. (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1936. Pp. ix, 808. 12.50 fl.)

THIS weighty book, which is to be completed in a second volume, has been prepared under the auspices of the International Scientific Committee on Price History, a group of scholars whose aim is methodological thoroughness rather than the production of "definitive" histories of prices.

Dr. Elsas and his assistants, seeking long, continuous, and homogeneous price series, found them in the account books of hospitals and other public bodies in three south German cities, Munich, Augsburg, and Würzburg. These records have yielded over a million price entries covering a wide range of commodities from the second half of the fifteenth century to the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. These figures, handled with great critical caution, are presented in this volume. Except for the arithmetical averaging of annual entries—and not even this for the quarterly and monthly grain prices—they have been subjected to no statistical manipulation. The few tables of price relatives covering the years 1460, 1505, 1621, 1671, and 1782 are designed only to illustrate the general price movement and not the shorter fluctuations. Although the monetary history of the three cities is adequately treated, as well as that of weights and measures, the prices in this volume are not corrected for monetary changes. When, in the second volume, a comparison more elaborate than that here given is made between the price histories of the three cities, a further statistical treatment of the raw data will be necessary, but for the present the full presentation of new historical material, without statistical amplification, is entirely justified. The specialist may find here his basic data, prepared with the most scrupulous caution, with critical annotations, and even with lists of all rejected entries for each commodity and wage series.

On testing the prices paid or received by hospitals or other institutions, Elsas finds that, after eliminating a relatively small number of prices obviously fixed as commutation payments, the institutions were governed by the open market. This confirms Hamilton's similar finding for Spain and tends to remove the doubt attached to use of the most abundant source of price material. Elsas also finds no marked price difference between large

and small quantity purchases, since, as he points out, the span between wholesale and retail price levels is a modern development, as, indeed, is also the emergence of distinctly large-scale enterprise.

The region studied, the scene of successive wars, affords an opportunity for examination of the effect of war upon prices. The conclusion seems to be that, on account of the relatively narrow market, only wars which were actually so near as to devastate the local supply directly influenced food prices, and influenced other prices hardly at all, until the close of the eighteenth century. Food scarcities resulting from defective harvests affected local prices much more seriously than did war.

The price series for the three cities studied in this volume show considerable local variation and indicate the undeveloped character of inter-local trade down to the end of the eighteenth century. But despite this variation in detail, there is marked similarity in the general movement of prices. The price curves for all three cities in the main move steadily upward from the third decade of the sixteenth century to their high point in the early twenties a century later, then drop by about 25 to 30 per cent for approximately fifty years, and thereafter climb again, with fluctuations, through the eighteenth century. This agrees with previous knowledge of the course of prices in Germany, except for the peak, which, at least for south Germany, is here shown to come a decade earlier than the hitherto accepted early thirties of the seventeenth century.

The chief finding, which, curiously enough for a work so wary in generalization, is strongly emphasized, is the correlation between population increase and decrease with the secular rise and fall of prices, together with a reciprocal movement in wage rates and earnings. The figures of population in the three cities here studied appear to support the thesis which makes population changes one of the major factors explaining the price revolution. But before general acceptance, this theory must be confirmed by comparative studies from other regions and countries. The forthcoming publications initiated by the International Scientific Committee on Price History will furnish the basis for such comparative studies. In comparative price history the difficulties are great and the pitfalls many, and the essay should not be undertaken without the preliminary critical amassing of material such as Dr. Elsas's book so notably presents.

Huntington Library. EDWIN F. GAY.

A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century. By Sir CHARLES OMAN, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1937. Pp. xv, 784. $6.00.)

THIS latest work of Sir Charles Oman is a continuation of his classic *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, A.D. 378-1485*. But it is more than that. Where formerly he devoted two volumes to a millennium,

he here gives nearly eight hundred pages to a single century, a century to which he has given particular study. His judgment has been fortified by a special study of military geography and reinforced by visits to the scenes of action.

The book opens with a general survey of the historical background, the military geography, and the military institutions of the times, all of which Sir Charles is eminently fitted by his special researches to discuss. In the succeeding books into which this volume is divided he takes up in turn the Italian Wars, the Wars of 1527-1559, the military history of Tudor England, the Wars of Religion in France, the Revolt of the Netherlands, and the Turkish Wars against Christendom.

The author's purpose is "to sum up the fundamental alterations in the Art of War between 1494 and 1600". What is the use, we may ask, of this survey? There are two principal uses of military history, the one mainly for statesmen and the higher military commanders, the other mainly for lesser soldiers. It was the former which concerned Procopius when he wrote in his *Persian War:* "Men who purpose to enter upon a war or are preparing themselves for any kind of struggle may derive some benefit from a narrative of a similar situation in history." The other purpose was that of Onasander, who said of his work, *The General:* "It will be a school for good generals, and an object of delight for retired commanders in these times of holy peace; and we shall know, if nothing else, for what reason some generals have stumbled and fallen, but others have prospered and risen to fame." Oman combines both lessons, that of policy on the one hand, and that of strategy, tactics, and logistics on the other, and in such a way as to refute the saying of M. du Haillon to the Maréchal de Biron: "Nul ne sçait bien parler de la guerre que les guerreurs." We may learn in the field of policy that, little as statesmen and soldiers understand it today, modern states could not conceivably embark upon campaigns with impossible strategic aims such as the French pursued repeatedly in Italy or engage in such "purposeless", "unnecessary", and "ill-managed" enterprises as the wars of Henry VIII, one of which the author calls a "mere mischievous march to destruction". The explanation of strategy, tactics, and organization of armies "from the standpoint of contemporary thought" will give soldiers the kind of military history that they have long lacked.

If we are to criticize this work on any substantial ground, it must be on the selfsame ground as that upon which Sir Charles finds fault with his predecessors, who, he says, have hurried on to Gustavus Adolphus and the like to the neglect of such as Gonsalvo de Cordova. He himself tells only enough about the latter to whet one's appetite for more, albeit such tendencies of the time as the growing importance of gunfire and the use of field fortifications coupled with the decline of cavalry were associated

directly with Gonsalvo's name. We see only enough of him at Gaeta to explain why he was called "El Grande Capitán".

There are a few minor regrets to be expressed regarding this work. It is unfortunate that it was published too soon for the author to have made the same effective use of *The Letters and Documents of Armand de Gontaut, Baron de Biron, Marshal of France* as he made of contemporary memoirs and that the thirty-three maps, though admirably simple, clear, and helpful, are still too few; they might have been supplemented by similar maps to illustrate the series of campaigns described in the various books into which the volume is divided. A final minor criticism is that an otherwise satisfactory example of printing and binding has been marred by the occasional careless kind of typographical error that appears naked and unashamed on page 420. These, however, are little rifts within a lute which plays a noble tune.

Oakland, California. J. M. Scammell.

The Letters and Documents of Armand de Gontaut, Baron de Biron, Marshal of France, 1524-1592. Collected by the late Sidney Hellman Ehrman. Edited, with an Introduction, by James Westfall Thompson. Two volumes. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1936. Pp. liii, 809. $7.50.)

So romantic did the French wars of religion seem to the English that they were often put on the stage. While Marlowe and Chapman turned them into melodramatic tragedies, Shakespeare made the great captains gentle lovers and courtiers in his idyllic comedy, *Love's Labor's Lost*. Though he may have derived his plot from an account of a real festivity at the court of Navarre, he totally transformed the characters of his *dramatis personae*. In real life Biron was no sentimental euphuist but a hard-fighting, self-seeking, avaricious, and violent condottiere, with few religious principles and few moral scruples. Born in 1524, he first entered the service of Margaret of Navarre as a page and then enlisted in the French army as a soldier of fortune. Rising rapidly to the rank of marshal, he made such a reputation both as soldier and diplomat as to force him to take part in most of the battles and negotiations of the long civil war. He negotiated the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of France. Though a Catholic he nearly lost his life on St. Bartholomew's Eve. The plot of the drama then enacted on the theater of France is one of the most complicated in all history, and the story of Biron's part in it is bewildering in its complexity. As a servant of the crown he was loyal only to himself, intriguing and betraying as suited his interests. Though a *politique* he could be as cruel and savage to the Huguenot rebels as was any bigot of the Catholic League. After the death of Henry III, Biron transferred his allegiance, such

as it was, to the still Protestant Henry IV, for whom he was able to do important services. He met his death on July 9, 1592, fighting for the king.

Such is the story extracted by Professor James Westfall Thompson from the older sources and from the four hundred letters and documents printed for the first time by Sidney H. Ehrman. This young man was born in San Francisco in 1905 and received his B.A. in 1927 and M.A. in 1928 from the University of California. After publishing a volume of essays under the title of *Three Renaissance Silhouettes* in 1928, he went to Europe to pursue his studies but died of a sinus infection on June 1, 1930. The documents which he had collected and edited have been printed in two handsome volumes, under the supervision of Professor Thompson. They do not constitute the complete correspondence of Biron. A long list of his letters, already published elsewhere, is appended. One hundred and twenty-five letters which Mr. Ehrman knew of at Leningrad he was unable to use. A large part of his materials he found in the Bibliothèque nationale, but he also drew from other archives.

The editing reflects high credit on the scholarship of Mr. Ehrman and Professor Thompson. The book is an important addition to our knowledge of a man and his epoch.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

The Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. By G. B. HARRISON. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 359. $3.00.)

ROMANTIC interest in Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, has tended to enlarge him out of proportion to his historical importance, great as that was, and popular interpretations of Elizabethan politics and policy have too often represented events in Essex's career out of proper perspective. Mr. Harrison's book inevitably invites a contrast with Strachey's treatment of the same theme. Strachey wrote a clever essay, stylistically brilliant but valueless in the light of historical truth; Mr. Harrison has discarded literary fireworks in the interest of an honest interpretation of the facts as he sees them and as he thinks a reasonably objective Elizabethan might have seen them. Throughout his book he shows a commendable zeal in portraying Essex and events connected with him in relation to the times. If the resulting narrative seems to some readers to miss dramatic opportunities for fine writing, this reviewer at least is grateful; we have had altogether too much artful biography of Elizabethans.

Mr. Harrison concentrates his interest on the political fortunes of Essex, whose career he traces step by step through a tangled wilderness of schemes and intrigues. A useful contribution of the book is its documented picture of the struggle of courtiers and politicians for position and preferment. Valuable incidental side lights are thrown on Raleigh, Robert Cecil, Charles and Christopher Blount, Charles Howard, and others of their type.

Sticking closely to inescapable factual evidence, Mr. Harrison's biography does not magnify its subject. In fact, Essex emerges as a spoiled, headstrong young man, possessing a personal magnetism that won him loyal friends but lacking political wisdom and intellectual depth. So careful is the author not to exalt his hero that the reader is left wondering wherein lay Essex's charm; between the lines one gathers that he attracted friends by a pleasing manner, dashing courage, and impetuous generosity, though, toward the end of his career, his arrogance and frequent anger must have been hard for even his most loyal friends to endure. To the question of whether Essex was ever the actual lover of the queen—a question that perhaps is of no real concern except to romantics—Mr. Harrison gives only an ambiguous answer: "It soon developed into a feeling far deeper than friendship or affection, which was not the love of an elderly mistress for her young lover, though it had something of the jealous love of a widow towards her only son. Essex always stirred the Queen emotionally" (pp. 28-29).

Only occasionally does the biographer let himself become too enthusiastic about the theme of his book. At one point he permits himself to say, "Essex's rise and decline was not merely the personal fortune of one man and his immediate followers; it affected the nation more deeply than any event since the Armada" (p. 274). On the surface, perhaps, and in London, it doubtless seemed as important as that. But compared with economic and social changes affecting all England and rapidly coming to a head, the Essex affair was only an unfortunate political crisis which the government weathered successfully.

Literary students, and probably others, may wish that Mr. Harrison had devoted more consideration to Essex's literary connections, particularly as a patron of letters. For it is clear that his relations with at least some of the younger writers in London must have been close. New facts about Essex as a patron would help to throw some light on his intellectual interests and qualities.

Although Mr. Harrison has been careful to consult original sources in the preparation of his book, one could wish that he had checked his own conclusions with one or two standard works that he seems to have overlooked. Professor Edward P. Cheyney in his *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth* covers much of the same ground as that investigated by Mr. Harrison, and gives a clearer picture of some of the events. Although Mr. Harrison has not explored every side of Essex's personality and career and has not written a definitive life, he has nevertheless made a useful and workmanlike contribution to Elizabethan biography.

Huntington Library. Louis B. Wright.

The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660. By GODFREY DAVIES, Member of the Research Staff of the Huntington Library. [The Oxford History of England, edited by G. N. Clark.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xxi, 452. $5.00.)

As long as liberalism remains the creed of the Anglo-Saxon every new treatment of its apostolic age will command respectful attention. Of special interest is the appearance of this work, which by virtue of its position in a standard set bids fair to fix the historical norm for the next generation. What is now added to the authoritative summaries issued at the turn of the century? What have historians accomplished in this field during the last generation?

They have, of course, worked it much more intensively. The author has made good use of most of the recent literature and has even incorporated the gist of some unpublished lectures by Sir Charles Firth on Puritan social regulations. The book also benefits greatly from the author's own studies in the field of military history. The microscopic method of research often begets the topical method of arrangement. Consequently even the main thread of the narrative is separated into constitutional, religious, and diplomatic strands. This involves frequent cross references and much retracing of ground, but doubtless things like that must be in every scholarly work.

The field has also been greatly broadened. Where once the historian contented himself with an introductory chapter or two on the social setting of his story, he is now compelled to devote nearly half his space to chapters on economics, foreign trade and colonies, education and science, the arts and literature. The writer must understand the organization of the cloth industry and the troubles of the New England Confederation. He must be moderately competent in the fields of medicine, interior decorating, and literature. Obviously the person to measure up to these exacting standards, prescribed by the plan of the series, is the editor of the standard bibliography for the period, and he has done his work well. The reviewer has noted only a few minor slips. The death sentence on Peacham was not actually carried out, as is implied on page 18. Careful research has as yet failed to uncover any contemporary confirmation of Wood's story (p. 96) of the electioneering activities of Pym and Hampden in 1640. Baptist is a better term for the antipedobaptist party of the seventeenth century (pp. 237, 252) than Anabaptist, which, according to modern usage, belongs rather to the Continental sectaries of the preceding century. The bill to abolish the court of chancery did not advance beyond the second reading in 1653 (p. 173).

It seems regrettable that the current broadening of the field could not be accompanied by a similar catholicity in interpretation. The view throughout tends to be narrowly orthodox, in spite of the fact that current thinking on the subject of liberalism is undergoing something of a revolu-

tion. James and Charles remain incompetents who rarely do a wise or generous thing. If trade is bad, they are to blame. If it is good, the credit goes to other factors, such as the Spanish peace, and the royal influence in this matter is ignored (pp. 327-28). The achievements of Buckingham at the treasury and admiralty are mentioned only to be cried down, while Strafford's Irish policy is viewed in a light which would not greatly have displeased his parliamentary accusers. After all these years of research into the methods employed by English fortune hunters beyond St. George's Channel it is indeed strange to find the Earl of Cork in the role of an injured innocent. On the other hand the advanced reformers fare equally badly. The very serious challenge of the Levellers and Cromwell's shabby treatment of them are passed over lightly. The overmuch maligned Nominated Parliament is left where Macaulay classified it, as an assembly of impractical fanatics. The Diggers are briefly filed with the sectaries, though their literature anticipated most of the arguments of modern socialists, including the dictum that religion is the opiate of the people. The writer summarizes the results of the careful work of such scholars as Tawney and the Webbs on the status of the working class and the poor but virtually ignores the indictment of the liberal system which they imply. The traditional Whig treatment of this period has much to commend it, but it is questionable whether it is best championed by minimizing or overlooking its weaknesses.

Has our preoccupation with details made us blind to these more fundamental problems of interpretation? Or is it unfair to ask for so much in a work already so good?

The University of Chicago. M. M. Knappen.

Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks. Volume II, *Papers of William Trumbull the Elder, 1605-1610.* Edited by the late E. K. Purnell and A. B. Hinds. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1936. Pp. xl, 554. $3.40.)

The first volume of this report contained the correspondence of Sir William Trumbull, secretary of state under William III. In this second volume are to be found part of the papers of his grandfather, William Trumbull, who was secretary to Sir Thomas Edmonds, English ambassador at Brussels, from 1605 to 1609 and thereafter chargé d'affaires until the break between England and Spain in 1625. There are nearly twice as many letters printed here for the sixteen months when William Trumbull was in charge at Brussels as there are for the years when he resided there as the ambassador's secretary. During those years, however, he returned to England almost every spring for a visit of several months, and the letters he received from Brussels present a most interesting picture of Continental

affairs. In most of the letters written to Trumbull (virtually none of his own before September, 1609, have survived) by his various friends on the Continent the negotiations for peace between the Dutch and Spain and the long delay before the truce between the two countries was signed in 1609 were the chief topics of interest.

After Trumbull became chargé his correspondence grew, and his own letters, particularly those to the Earl of Salisbury, increase in number. As these dispatches to the English minister are to be found in the *State Papers, Flanders,* the editors do not include many of them and give only their dates with appropriate references. They were to a great extent based on a wide and regular correspondence which Trumbull was carrying on with a number of government agents scattered throughout northern Germany, Holland, France, and even Spain. The dominating interest of all these gentlemen during 1610, about which they had much to say in their letters to Trumbull, was the war caused by the disputed succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, which threatened to embroil all of Western Europe. News from England was not very plentiful in most of the letters Trumbull received.

Mr. Hinds, who succeeded the late Mr. Purnell as editor of this volume, has written an interesting and useful introduction. His explanations help to lessen the reader's annoyance over the haphazard arrangement of the material, and the chronological list of the papers as well as a fairly good index is of real assistance to all students who are looking for a valuable supplement to Winwood's well-known *Memorials.*

New York University. HAROLD HULME.

Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews. By ISAAC DA COSTA. *With some Account of the Capadose Family, including their Conversion to Christianity,* by BERTRAM BREWSTER, and *An Excursus on their Jewish History,* by CECIL ROTH. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. vi, 219. Plates XLIV. $14.00.)

THIS sumptuous volume has many strange features. It is primarily a history of the Capadose family, initiated by its present head, Antonius Everdinus Capadose, and edited by his lifelong friend, Bertram Brewster, author of *The Philosophy of Faith* (London, 1913). At the eleventh hour the assistance of the well-known historian of the Marranos, Dr. Cecil Roth, was obtained, and his brief contribution is undoubtedly the most significant part of the whole work. Roth and Brewster engage in a number of amusing polemics and offer an unusual type of "free symposium" on matters of fact rather than of opinion. Forty-four beautifully printed full-page illustrations, largely reproductions of family heirlooms and portraits, add interesting pictorial material.

The general title of the volume is taken from chapter II, which is pre-

ceded by a lengthy chapter on the general history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal. Unfortunately chapter I is only a reprint of a chapter in the English translation of Isaac da Costa's *Israel and the Gentiles,* which appeared in London in 1850; while chapter II gives a translation of a series of articles published by the same author in 1857-59 in the Dutch periodical *De Navorscher,* VII-IX. Written by a distinguished Dutch poet and leader of the Orthodox Reformed party, they were at that time fairly significant contributions, but they are hopelessly antiquated today. The editor has not taken pains to revise them in the light of modern research, and his short bibliographical note (p. 205) by no means remedies this deficiency. He did not even rewrite all the footnotes in his translation (*e.g.* p. 154, n. 1) so as to refer to the preceding pages in the present volume rather than to the original pages in the *Navorscher.*

Under these circumstances only the two short essays of Brewster and Roth on the Capadose family as such (pp. 163-204) are of any real interest to the historian. The origin of both the family and the name is still obscure. The first member of this family of Portuguese Marranos to appear in history is Francisco Lopes Capadose, born before 1590. Upon arriving in Amsterdam he publicly returned to the Jewish faith, assuming the Jewish name Aaron Israel Capadose (see Herbert I. Bloom's *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th Centuries,* Williamsburg, 1937, pp. 189, n. 59, and 205, n. 10).

For about two centuries all the Capadoses professed Judaism and were leading members of Dutch Jewry. In 1822 Dr. Abraham Capadose embraced Christianity; his narrative of that spiritual experience appeared in many editions and was supposedly translated into no less than sixty languages. His son, Dr. Isaac Capadose, after a short career in the Dutch colonial service, became minister of the "Catholic Apostolic Church" in Albury, Surrey, serving with distinction from 1876 till his death in 1920.

Even more interesting is the story of the Silva family, whose relations to the Capadoses are not yet fully clarified (pp. 195 ff.). We learn here of the fascinating career of Duarte da Silva (1596-1677), "the Rothschild of Portugal". According to Dr. Roth it was largely due to his efforts in the economic sphere that Portugal retained its Brazilian possessions. After a gruesome five years' imprisonment by the Inquisition, he played a great role as financial adviser of Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II, whom he accompanied to London. His son, Francisco, after a military victory over the Duke of Créqui in 1673, was created hereditary marquis of Montfort by a charter of Emperor Leopold I. This charter, issued in 1682, appears here in partial reproduction from the original still extant in the family collection (pl. II-IV). Though it conferred numerous privileges upon the family, Duarte's grandson, Francisco, the second marquis, decided to give up the title and all honors when he publicly returned to Judaism and

assumed the inconspicuous name of Isaac da Silva. Several other descendants of Duarte likewise became professing Jews, though the majority retained their Christian and aristocratic connections.

Columbia University. SALO W. BARON.

Memoirs of Sir John Reresby: The Complete Text and a Selection of his Letters. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by ANDREW BROWNING, Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. (Glasgow: Jackson, Son, and Company. 1936. Pp. xlv, 626. 30*s.*)

GREAT source documents of Restoration England are finally being edited with the fullness and scholarship they deserve. The complete diaries of Pepys and Evelyn will soon appear, and Reresby's *Memoirs* can now for the first time be used in an edition that is genuine and complete.

Of these three great personal recorders of the period Pepys is the most remarkable, Evelyn the most intelligent, Reresby the most typically English of the day. The West Riding squire, sheriff, justice, M.P., and governor of York, though well-traveled and at home in Whitehall, knew the country better than the town, the army better than the navy, and local better than central government. The Restoration produced few Pepyses, insufficient Evelyns, many Reresbys. Therein lies the chief importance of the *Memoirs*. They contain no dependable day-by-day account, they were written carelessly late in life, they have no redeeming literary quality, and they abound in errors; but they record roughly and baldly "the life of a typical member of the class which in the seventeenth century formed the backbone of English society".

Nearly a century before the appearance of Evelyn (1818) and Pepys (1825), Reresby was honored with three editions in two years (1734-35). The reason was probably the desire for a moderate Tory weapon against Walpole and an antidote to Burnet's second volume, which was soon to appear. Early nineteenth century editions added the "Travels". All these editions were paraphrases, reproducing so little of the original that when, in 1875, Cartwright edited, badly and incompletely, the actual manuscript which had just been purchased by the British Museum, it was thought that the earlier editions must have come from a different source. There was great need for Professor Browning's labors, and now there is only one edition for historians to cite. It contains a good introduction, abundant notes, and an adequate index. Original spellings are preserved—"bycaus", "purpas", "voat", "ofton", "ant"—requiring no gloss and retaining some linguistic values. The "Selection of his Letters", except for a brief appendix, consists of extracts in the notes.

The account covers practically his entire life (1634-89) but mainly the last twelve years. It appears that nearly all was written during James's reign. Reresby's reputation as a self-seeking, time-serving politician is im-

proved but slightly. Browning finds his general attitude honest if not lofty. His desertion of the Country party in 1677 is explained and somewhat excused. There is much about local government, quarter sessions, highwaymen, office seeking, court gossip, parliament, and gout. He clung to the government during James's accumulating mistakes, spent twelve days in easy imprisonment during the Revolution, maintained a friend in Halifax, and tried to weather the storm. But he "found it was hard for one that did not heartily and early come into the present government to live either in town or country without censure". The last insertion sadly records his inability to see the king, Halifax considering "it was discretion to lett two or three months pass". He died in a week.

Northwestern University. CLYDE L. GROSE.

Calendar of Treasury Books preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by WILLIAM A. SHAW. Volumes X (4 parts)–XV, XVIII, *January, 1693–September, 1700, and the Year 1703.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1935; 1933; 1933; 1933; 1934; 1933; 1936. Pp. 1850, 563, 458, 600, 601, 600, 664. $28.50; $7.75; $6.50; $7.75; $7.75; $7.75; $11.50.)

BETWEEN 1904 and 1916 Dr. Shaw brought out seven volumes, in eleven parts, of the *Calendar of Treasury Books* from the Restoration to the death of Charles II. Volume VIII, in four parts, published in 1923, covered the reign of James II. Volume IX, beginning the reign of William and Mary, appeared in 1931, and since that date the volumes indicated above make the material preserved at the treasury available down to 1703. A gap extending from October, 1700, to December, 1703, inclusive, is to be covered in Volumes XVI and XVII, the publication of which has been delayed.

The material calendared in Volume X, which is typical of all the others under review, comprises one volume of the minutes of the treasury board from April 12, 1695, to March 31, 1696; three volumes of king's warrant books; three volumes of money books; two volumes of order books; three volumes of disposition books; seven volumes of out letters, including customs, Ireland, general, and plantations auditor; two volumes of reference books; one volume of warrants not relating to money; and one volume of the caveat book. Except for the minutes of the meetings of the treasury board, which are kept together as a unit, all entries from the various books are arranged together under the day of the month on which they were made. The index of this volume, so elaborate that it covers 390 pages, published as part IV, is divided into an index of persons and places and an index of subjects, with some cross references between the two. The analysis of entries continues in the usual English Calendar style but represents a great improvement over some of the older examples of this fashion. Even

so, there are solid banks of fifty or more page numbers under a single subheading.

Dr. Shaw's care and skill as an editor are a byword. Yet it is some consolation to the poor scholar who detects an error of proofreading or transcription on the first page to which he opens his new book to find that at the end of part III of Volume X Dr. Shaw notes over eleven pages of errata, thirteen of them on one page of the text.

It is impossible to give a detailed analysis of the contents of these Calendar volumes, so multitudinous are the classes of their entries. It must now be recognized as a fact that no serious work can be done on any subject relating to late seventeenth and early eighteenth century English history, whether political, biographical, military, constitutional, colonial, or fiscal, without the most careful use of the *Calendar of Treasury Books*.

Special mention must again be made of one feature of Dr. Shaw's work, namely, his introductions to certain of the volumes of the series. The introduction to Volume IX should be read in conjunction with the material presented in Volume X, since it contains a large number of abbreviations of accounts of government income and expenditure from 1689 to 1695. These accompany a sketch of the constitutional and fiscal history of the years that saw the beginning of the national debt, the founding of the Bank of England, and parliamentary acceptance of the obligation to provide for the armed forces of the nation. The *Introduction to Volumes XI-XVII*, published as a separate volume and reviewed in this journal (XLI, 131) is the best study yet made of English public finance at the end of the seventeenth century. In the introduction to Volume XVIII there is a "rapid survey" of the financial operations of the government during 1702 and 1703. This is followed by abbreviations of government department accounts for the year Michaelmas, 1702, to Michaelmas, 1703, extending from page xlvii to page cxcii. These accounts together with those in the introductions to Volumes IX and X form a complete series from 1689 to 1703 and make up the most perfect record of the income and disbursements of any government before the nineteenth century known to the reviewer. Through the documents published both in Dr. Shaw's introductions and in the body of the Calendars it is possible to trace more realistically than has yet been done the actual steps by which parliamentary government came to be established in England. Thus, to give but one instance, it is clear from the minutes of the treasury board that in actual practice the powers of William III were little different from those of Charles II, in spite of what happened in 1688-89. The essential difference between the two kings lay more in the fact that William III could not "live of his own" rather than in the circumstance that the Bill of Rights had been made a statute.

University of Illinois. F. C. Dietz.

La prépondérance anglaise, 1715-1763. Par PIERRE MURET, professeur honoraire au Lycée Carnot, avec la collaboration de Philippe Sagnac, professeur à la Sorbonne. [Peuples et civilisations: Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1937. Pp. 651. 70 fr.)

PROFESSOR Muret has brought order out of the intricacies of international politics from 1715 to 1763 by placing England and her rival France in the center of the stage. Not that the author omits the ancient Continental rivalries and dynastic ambitions. Full account is taken of the German princes, the survival until 1748 of the traditional French policy against Austria, and of the troublesome Farnese family. The ventures of Spain and Sardinia in Italy, of Russia and Hanover in the Baltic, of Prussia in Silesia, Saxony, and Bohemia are shown to be of importance for Europe, as well as the greater antagonisms between France and England, England and Spain, Holland and Austria. But the conflicts between the lesser powers depended ultimately on the relations between England and France. Peter the Great and Frederick II were successful to the extent that they could exploit Anglo-French rivalry, and even they were at the mercy of their allies.

M. Muret excels in his delineation of the interplay of politics, both foreign and domestic, and economic interests. By the treaties of Utrecht the supremacy held by France from 1661 to 1688 had seemingly passed to England. And yet the treaties neither brought peace to Europe nor satisfied English ambitions. In the Baltic, in Italy, in the Mediterranean, on the Danube, and in Spain, the treaties were only a breathing spell; while for England they were a stepping stone toward the fulfillment of the aims pursued from 1688 to 1713: the humiliation of France, the conquest of the coast and islands of North America, and, most important of all, the economic exploitation of the Spanish Empire. In contrast to the "secret" of the regent, the "secret" of the English was interloping (p. 20)! It is more correct to say, therefore, as M. Muret points out (despite the title of this book), that the treaties of Utrecht did not establish English dominance, but rather that from 1715 to 1763 there was a succession of efforts to achieve that dominance. "Ce peuple", wrote Voltaire of the English, "n'est pas seulement jaloux de sa liberté. Il l'est aussi de celle des autres." Our author proves the falsity of this statement and criticizes the English for considering only their own interests. But when, it may be asked, has a nation acted otherwise?

England's rise to power is divided into two periods: before and after 1739. At first the Whig governments were able to hold France in leading strings and to regulate European affairs. In the words of the author: "A aucun moment de la crise [1725-1731] leur action diplomatique dans les courses adverses ne fut interrompue; elle marche de pair avec les opérations de leurs flottes" (p. 156). Then, assured of their hegemony, the English

rulers permitted Fleury to escape from their tutelage. While England, during Walpole's later years, suffered economic, political, social, and religious troubles, France and Spain restored internal discipline, developed their commerce, and increased their fleets. Spurred by economic distress at home, the greed of commercial magnates, and an inflamed patriotism, as well as by the rivalries in India and in America, the English finally turned to war and achieved victory.

In two chapters, all too short, Professor Sagnac reviews the intellectual currents of the age. Especially suggestive are the comparisons between English and French thought and the pages devoted to Rousseau. One might take exception to a few statements. It is doubtful whether the Jesuits opposed the *philosophes* as consistently as the author indicates, or whether religious sentiment in the church was at as low an ebb as he seems to think. However, the chapters on the whole are so good that the reader is anxious to see the following volume in the series, of which M. Sagnac is to be the author.

The select bibliographies at the beginning of each section are well chosen, while an occasional suggestion of work still to be done will whet the appetite of scholars in the field. The student of the eighteenth century will find this volume an invaluable guide.

Princeton University. E. A. Beller.

Calendar of State Papers preserved in the Public Record Office, Colonial Series: America and West Indies. Three volumes covering the years 1724-1729. Edited by Cecil Headlam, with Introductions by Arthur Percival Newton. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1936; 1936; 1937. Pp. l, 570; xl, 507; xlv, 632. $9.00; $8.00; $9.00.)

Before his death in 1934, Mr. Cecil Headlam, the able editor of the *Calendar* since 1905, had prepared the papers for several volumes beyond that of 1722-1723 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 183-184) but had not written the introductions. This final task was assumed by Professor Newton, and three further installments of the series have since appeared. The twenty published volumes for which Mr. Headlam was wholly or chiefly responsible, covering the thirty-one years from 1699 through 1729, stand as a monument to his knowledge and insight as a student of colonial history.

The papers of the six years comprised within the present three volumes illuminate many events and developments of importance in colonial affairs. Space permits the mention of only a few. The perennial problems of the naval-stores industry and the protection of mast trees reserved for the royal navy evoked repeated memorials from David Dunbar, surveyor general of the woods, and from other interested persons. Dunbar and Thomas Coram were also deeply interested in a scheme for establishing a province of

"Georgia" to the east of the settlements in Maine. In Massachusetts the general court was forced to accept the explanatory charter of 1725 but stoutly refused to grant a fixed salary to Governor Burnet in spite of threats of parliamentary intervention. Further south, the Board of Trade achieved a major objective in the surrender of the Carolina charter by the proprietors. These volumes contain many of the documents dealing with the negotiations. In the West Indies the two topics of chief concern were the undeclared war with Spain, with its resulting maritime complications, and the successful termination under Governor Hunter of the protracted controversy over a permanent revenue in Jamaica. There is some evidence in these pages of a decline in the importance of the Board of Trade after Newcastle's appointment as secretary of state, but the decline appears to have been largely one of political prestige rather than of business activity, and, in the reviewer's opinion, its extent as well as its significance is somewhat exaggerated in Professor Newton's introductory comments.

The most important point brought out in these papers is the steadily mounting tendency of the colonial assemblies to assert their independence as parliamentary bodies. In all the provinces, and particularly in Massachusetts, New York, Jamaica, and Barbados, the local legislatures were advancing in self-esteem and in their refusal to accept dictation from representatives of the crown. In the words of a memorial of 1729, the assemblies seemed "already to be got beyond all check or manner of restraint whatsoever". The writer added that the provinces revealed "a strong inclination to take the earliest opportunity of setting up for themselves" (*1728-29*, p. 534). Although the latter statement was premature and extreme, these volumes make very clear the trend of the assemblies toward getting "beyond all check" from England. Furthermore, that trend was as well marked in the West Indies in the 1720's as it was in those colonies which eventually did seize the "opportunity of setting up for themselves".

Yale University. LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The Liverpool Tractate: An Eighteenth Century Manual on the Procedure of the House of Commons. Edited with an Introduction by CATHERINE STRATEMAN. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xcii, 105. $2.50.)

THIS tractate on procedure in the eighteenth century house of commons is, on the whole, a clear, well-written, and fairly complete exposition of the practices of parliament at that time. It even has an occasional touch of sardonic humor. If there were any doubt about the desirability of printing the manual, Miss Strateman has dispelled it with an edition and introduction that constitute a first-rate piece of scholarship.

Ever since the late sixteenth century, descriptions of parliamentary pro-

cedure have appeared at frequent intervals in England except for a period from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. The existence of an anonymous manuscript in the Liverpool Papers, catalogued in the British Museum as Additional Manuscript 38456, provided Miss Strateman with an opportunity partially to fill this gap, for she has on internal evidence placed the writing of the tractate in the year 1763 (without being able, after a skillful attempt, definitely to identify the author). It is true that historians of parliamentary procedure have had in the Commons Journals and other sources much material from which its evolution could be traced. Indeed Miss Strateman, after her careful analysis of the Liverpool Tractate, finds confirmation of views expressed by Professor Redlich and the Porritts on important points.

Miss Strateman does, however, without any pretensions to momentous discovery, make some contributions of her own to the study of parliamentary procedure. Her critical review of the known tractates on procedure up to the nineteenth century is competently done. Furthermore she has not derived solely from the tractates those observations which she makes on the development of procedure from the seventeenth century to the time of the Liverpool Tractate. She gives a fuller description of the changes which occurred during that period than are revealed in the tractates, noting at the same time that the more important developments in procedure since the early Stuart house of commons did not take place until the nineteenth century. She points out that the eighteenth century house had the virtue of allowing independence of action to the private member by not requiring the strict ordering of business and the elaborate time tables which were found to be essential in the nineteenth century. There were, however, abuses concerning parliamentary committees which are now definitely known to have existed in the eighteenth century. The Liverpool Tractate is the best evidence that "committees were far from being the impartial tribunals they were supposed to be, and that their proceedings were irregular" (p. lxxiv).

The few criticisms which occurred to this reviewer while reading the editor's introduction and notes to the text seem, on further consideration, to be too insignificant to mention.

The University of Rochester. WILLSON H. COATES.

L'individu et l'état dans l'évolution constitutionnelle de la Suisse. Par WILLIAM E. RAPPARD, recteur de l'Université de Genève. (Zurich: Éditions Polygraphiques. [n. d.] Pp. ix, 566.)

THIS remarkable study is an admirable example of history with a theme in the best sense. For M. Rappard's thesis that *étatisme* (governmentalism) has been supplanting individualism as the dominant principle of the Swiss constitution is not arbitrarily superimposed but derived from a detailed examination of the functioning of Swiss constitutional provisions. Eminent

economic historian that he is, the author has brought to this task qualifications which enable him to paint a realistic picture in terms of the changing economic pattern of modern industrialism.

From the historical standpoint, M. Rappard's discussion is very evenly divided. The first half of the book (chs. I-IX) is devoted to an analysis of Swiss constitutionalism from the French Revolution to 1848—the year in which the present federal union was formed. The author begins with a statement of his thesis that Switzerland has succumbed to the ideas of 1798: "Or, et c'est là le grand paradoxe de notre destinée, après un siècle de libre developpement constitutionel, la Suisse possède aujourd'hui un régime beaucoup plus semblable à celui qui lui fut imposé en 1798 qu'à celui dont l'avait dotée toute l'évolution nationale des siècles précédents." Only to a Swiss would it seem paradoxical that this should be so. M. Rappard devotes a brilliant analysis to the arbitrary and personal manner in which the ideas of the French Revolution were imposed upon Switzerland through the constitution of 1798. The hero-villain of this effort was Pierre Ochs, "l'annonciateur de la Suisse moderne". M. Rappard's critical and yet sympathetic treatment of this remarkable man constitutes one of the finest sections in the book.

The second part of this magistral volume is concerned with the history, from 1848 to the present, of the Swiss constitution, properly speaking. Rappard believes that the authors of the constitutional charter of 1848 had three objectives—one political, one economic, and one "juridical". Here they are: "rehausser la sécurité de la Suisse", "accroître la prosperité de ses habitants", and "garantir leurs droits individuels". These ends were expressly set down in Article II of the new constitution. What has become of them? It is the author's well-supported contention that in order to accomplish what the mass of the people believed to be necessary measures for the realization of the economic purpose ever greater inroads have been made upon the third. Indeed, individual rights have, in certain respects, well-nigh disappeared. M. Rappard's unfolding of this process is of great interest, not only historically but politically as well. That a similar development has been taking place in the United States is evident to all at the present time. How to evaluate this process is a matter for subjective personal judgment. M. Rappard's apprehensions are at least well documented. He shows how through governmental mechanism a continuous redistribution of incomes is taking place. Considering the steadily mounting curve of federal subsidies, more particularly those under the heading of agriculture and social security, he exclaims, "la Suisse est actuellement en proie à une véritable fièvre d'étatisme".

M. Rappard feels definitely that the persistent trend toward governmentalism is endangering the future of Swiss popular government. Individualism, democracy, governmentalism—these he considers the three

stages in the evolution of Swiss constitutionalism. He fears there is danger that the third stage will sweep away the achievments of the other two (p. 533). But that is as far as he allows himself to go. He refuses to predict the future. The financial limits to governmental subsidies force the citizen to make up his mind whether he wants to go forward beyond these limits into authoritarian forms of government or not. This is, at any rate, the way M. Rappard sees the situation, and for him the answer is clear. To be sure, he does not propose a blind reaction any more than a communist revolution or a fascist coup d'état. He looks forward to a better future through more individual liberty, less governmentalism. To bridge the gap, M. Rappard pins his hope on "nouvelles formes de solidarité et de collaboration sociale". Just what he has in mind, he does not explain.

Harvard University. CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH.

Centennial Essays for Pushkin. Edited by SAMUEL H. CROSS and ERNEST J. SIMMONS. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. 226. $2.50.)

THE outpouring of books and articles commemorating the first centenary of the death of Alexander Pushkin has been amazing. Soviet writers have been working overtime interpreting Pushkin's thoughts and acts for the benefit of the new intellectual order now prevailing in his country. Their activity has doubtless provoked some part of the studies which have appeared outside the Soviet Union, attempting to keep the balance of interpretation even besides advancing the appreciation of the poet. The ten essays of this memorial volume represent the co-operative efforts of Russian specialists in four eminent American universities.

"A Biographical Study of Pushkin" by Professor Ernest J. Simmons properly introduces this series. The poet's life, his artistic growth, and his writings are sympathetically unfolded, which should entice one to read the author's delightful, extended biography, *Pushkin*. Although last in order, Professor Samuel H. Cross's essay on "Pushkin in Soviet Criticism" would inform the reader what Soviet investigators have striven to find, or to implant, in his works. Mr. Cross is a sturdy writer, hewing his way with vigor through the dialectics and interpretive jargon of these critics, giving them credit for valid achievements while exposing their unsuccessful "broad sociological conclusions" (p. 207). Two essays are essentially historical. Professor George V. Vernadsky has described "Pushkin and the Decembrists" with admirable clarity. The first section is the most succinct, brief description in English of that liberal movement, with the remainder of the essay devoted to Pushkin's imprecise but sympathetic association with it. Professor Michael Karpovich has analyzed "Pushkin as an Historian", particularly with reference to his composition of the *History of the Pugachev Rebellion*. A good case is made out for the poet as a historian, but the most

valuable pages of the essay are those explanatory of the Russian historiography of Pushkin's day.

All the other studies are concerned with literary criticism or the interpretation of Pushkin's poetry. "Pushkin and Mickiewicz" by Professor Arthur P. Coleman is of more importance for the life of the Polish poet and favors Polish history. Professor Alexander Kaun has pointed out how great were the influences upon the poet, but that Pushkin's sense of measure, his moderation and restraint, enabled him to transform his borrowings to accord with his own character. Professor George Z. Patrick has described Pushkin's prose writings with such charm, and Professor Victor de Gérard has shown the quality of the folk tales of Pushkin to be so interesting, that it would surely extend the appreciation of Pushkin in translation if more of these pieces in prose and lesser poems were commonly known.

The difficulty of appreciating Pushkin's poetry in translation is bewailed by half of the contributors. Why "most of Pushkin's work becomes commonplace in translation" (p. 169) is circumstantially explained by Professor George Rapall Noyes in his essay, "Pushkin in World Literature", although it is on more serious grounds that he denies Pushkin a prominent place among the world's great poets. Mrs. Dorothea Prall Radin has given many excerpts from Pushkin's poetry in her essay, "*Eugene Onegin* Read Today", and other illustrative verses are scattered throughout the volume. Some verses have come over into English beautifully; but the poetic mood need not have been banished by the imagery called forth by "Perfumes in flagons of cut glass" (p. 148), nor by "weep you" when "mourn you" would have been good English (p. 152). Although in foreign lands his poetry can never be justly apprized, "as a poet Pushkin still stands unrivalled in Russia" (p. 129), which is honor enough and to spare.

Allegheny College. ROGERS P. CHURCHILL.

The First Russian Revolution, 1825, the Decembrist Movement: Its Origins, Development, and Significance. By ANATOLE G. MAZOUR, Research Assistant in History, University of California, with a Foreword by Robert J. Kerner. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. Pp. xviii, 324. $4.00.)

IN his work on the abortive Decembrist Revolution Dr. Mazour has made a valuable contribution to Russian historical studies. He has mastered and synthesized the vast and growing literature on the Decembrists and their period and has presented the result in a study which moves easily and with increasing tempo from the liberal aspirations of Alexander I's early years to the dramatic climax of 1825. If the author's conclusions are seldom original, he has shown a sure judgment in selecting the essential facts, defining the atmosphere, and evaluating the significance of ideas

and events. In the maze of plans and conspiracies he skillfully introduces each new figure by a brief and well-drawn sketch based on the more reliable memoirs. Like Nechkina he stresses the significance of the Society of United Slavs as foreshadowing the radical program of the no-caste democrats of the 1860's.

In line with the general postwar tendency Mazour assigns an increasing importance to the Southern Society; new materials, published during the last fifteen years, have greatly enhanced the significance of Pestel as a theorist and as the dynamic leader of the movement. The author brings out skillfully the fundamental divergences between the Northern and Southern societies and attributes their contradictions to differences in social position. In some respects, however, this useful method of analysis seems to have been applied in exaggerated degree; after all, was the social position of Sergei Volkonsky, of the Southern Society, essentially different from that of Nikita Muraviev, the theorist of the moderate Northern group? In his running analysis Mazour avoids oversimplification in defining the motives of the chief actors and groups, but occasionally, in summarizing, he attributes to them a preternatural clarity of class perception and motivation. Even the most rigid dogmatists of the class struggle make ample allowance for the illusion of universality inherent in ideals of political liberation in their great periods. No less allowance, surely, should be made in the case of the Decembrists, who soared higher and fell lower than any of their fellow liberators elsewhere in Europe.

After the author's able analysis of the variety of contradictory aims and embryonic organizations which is commonly lumped together as the Decembrist movement, it is puzzling to find the failure of the revolts in St. Petersburg and in the South attributed above all to the lack of resolute and able strategists (pp. 176, 199). The brief analysis of the Speransky constitution offers one slight point of confusion: apparently the ministry was to be co-ordinated through the state council with the legislative and judicial branches of the government and was at the same time to be responsible to the crown alone (p. 26). In a few places the diction is obscure.

The bibliography will be of great value to students engaged in research, especially in tracing down recent books and articles. The beginning student may find some interest in the extracts from contemporary documents on pages 273-91.

Cornell University. PHILIP E. MOSELY.

Theodor von Schön, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, und die Revolution von 1848. Von HANS ROTHFELS. [Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Heft 2.] (Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1937. Pp. 91-303. 16 M.)

IT is fitting that a distinguished professor at the University of Königsberg

should produce a volume devoted to a statesman whose life was so closely connected with East Prussia. In his introduction Professor Rothfels announces the forthcoming appearance in the publications of the Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft of several other studies on Theodor von Schön and his times. The volume under review is based upon documents which have, in large part, only recently become available, and many of which are included in this book. Indeed, more than half the volume is devoted to documents—forty letters between Frederick William IV and Schön, chiefly of the years 1840-43, numerous letters from Schön to his brother-in-law Brunneck, and many memoranda on political questions during the forties.

The first part of the study traces the relations between Schön and Frederick William before 1848. Schön first gained prominence in connection with the emancipation of the serfs, and in 1816 he became *Oberpräsident* of East and West Prussia, where his administration was notable for internal improvements. A former pupil of Kant, who had made him a doctrinaire, and of C. J. Kraus, who had made him an adherent of laissez-faire, Schön was the leader of the East Prussian liberals. His cordial relations of long standing with the crown prince led many liberals to hope and believe that when Frederick William became king Schön would become chancellor under a liberal regime. Professor Rothfels covers in considerable detail the complicated struggle for power between Schön and Gustav von Rochow, a struggle which resulted in the dismissal of both statesmen in 1842. The king was genuinely fond of Schön and was sympathetic to liberal ideas, but he opposed Schön's demand for a Prussian national assembly and resented his attacks upon the ministry and especially Schön's arrogant attempts to force a decision between himself and Rochow. In the years following his dismissal Schön became ever more critical of the king and his government.

The second part of the work concerns Schön's relations to the revolutions of 1848. He was a member of the Prussian national assembly, and several times it seemed possible that he might become a member or even the head of the ministry. Always more of a Prussian than a German, he bitterly criticized and ridiculed the attempts of the Frankfort Assembly to create a German national state.

In his scholarly and thorough study Professor Rothfels shows himself distinctly friendly to Schön, whom he believes to have been treated too harshly by earlier historians. Schön was first of all a doctrinaire, a Kantian, a believer in the force of ideas. He was an economic liberal who disliked the Zollverein, the dominance of the nobility, and any state intervention on behalf of the Silesian weavers. His political ideal was a constitutional monarchy on the English model. To Schön the "state" was almost sacred,

and every scheme for German unification seemed to promise the extinction or absorption of his beloved Prussian state.

Dartmouth College. JOHN G. GAZLEY.

The Separation of Church and State in Italian Thought from Cavour to Mussolini. By S. WILLIAM HALPERIN, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 115. $2.00.)

DR. Halperin warns us in his preface that "he is only concerned with the theoretical discussions of this question", and that "the specific issues of the church-state conflict in Italy are outside the scope of this study". In effect his book is a short but well-arranged summary of opinions and theories of Italian writers and politicians from 1850 to our day on the question of the separation of church and state. The picture which he presents is not set, however, against a philosophical and juridical background such as one would expect in a theoretical treatment. In dealing with a subject like this, moreover, the voluntary limitations set by the author to his work not only mar considerably its usefulness but make almost inevitable a certain distortion of perspective. After all, the Italian writers and politicians—mostly politicians—of the Risorgimento were not, generally speaking, arm-chair philosophers and jurists discussing merely theoretical questions but were very often men of action confronted by concrete problems for which they had to find practical solutions. The analysis of their theories in their historical context by the detailed treatment of the specific issues involved is thus inseparable from the theoretical discussion. It is not enough to make only casual reference to those issues "as salient features of the *mise en scène*".

The author's rigid classification of theories may be right in a theoretical treatment, but their attribution to specific Italian political groups of that period is not consistent with the historical facts. Above all he unduly emphasizes the divergencies and conflicts of opinions among the various liberal groups and pays little attention to the more important fact that all of them were in agreement on one essential point. This point was that in view of the peculiar situation of the church in Italy no separation was possible unless the church was first stripped of all privileges and all political power and unless its temporalities were kept under a certain degree of state control as long as a clerical political reaction was to be feared. At the same time this was the crucial practical question that caused most of the divergencies among the liberal groups, which advocated, in varying degrees, radical measures of confiscation of ecclesiastical properties and severe laws restricting ecclesiastical liberties. In a general way it could be said that all the Italian liberals were from one point of view separatists and from another jurisdictionalists.

In such a case the theoretical definitions of separatism and of regalism cannot be applied as standards of judgment. As a matter of fact, "the separatist idea with its implication of equality of juridical status for church and state" (p. 41) was not the idea of the separatists even of the Cavourian type. Such an idea with this implication was anathema not only to the leftists, as the author states, but to all liberals. Likewise the theories of regalism as they were formulated by the jurists of the eighteenth century were not those of the Italian politicians of the Risorgimento, as the author seems to suggest when, in the exposition of the leftists' program (p. 41), he summarizes and in part quotes a passage from Ruffini's *Lineamenti Storici* in which the learned Italian scholar was not dealing with the regalists of 1860-70 but with those of the eighteenth century. The reason why this identification cannot be maintained is not far to seek. Regalism in its historical sense was based on the premise of the confessional character of the state; its aim was that of absorbing the church as an institution into the state, which would have become a civil and ecclesiastical power at the same time. On the contrary, the so-called "regalists" of the nineteenth century repudiated the principle of confessionalism (in spite of Article I of the Statute) and wished to retain a certain external control over the church, not with the aim of absorbing it into the state but rather of expelling it altogether from the sphere of political activity and power. The difference between the rightists and the leftists of the liberal groups may perhaps be stated as consisting primarily in the fact that the former considered the church as an institution to be regulated by the *ius publicum,* without however any juridical equality of church and state, while the latter considered it as a private institution, though in practice both groups advocated restrictions on ecclesiastical liberties similar in form to those of the old regalism.

The last chapter, "Church and State in Fascist Theory", is very sketchy, but it is perhaps the most useful of all, though here, also, the theoretical analysis finds little correspondence with the concrete facts of history. As a matter of fact, in theory it appears that the Italian state under fascism has become by the concordat of 1929 a confessional state. So the Vatican believed, but whoever has followed the controversies which took place in Italy before and after the ratification of the Lateran Treaty and looks at the present situation of the church in the fascist regime is likely to find more parallels with the worst features of regalism and state dogmatism than with state confessionalism.

The author appears familiar with the sources and the vast literature on the subject, but we notice the absence of two books which are very helpful in getting the right perspective: Arnaldo della Torre, *Il cristianesimo in Italia dai filosofisti ai modernisti* (Palermo, 1913), which gives a detailed analysis of the literature up to that time, and Luigi Salvatorelli, *Il pensiero*

politico italiano dal 1700 al 1870 (Turin, 1935), in which the problem of church and state in Italy is treated by the hand of a master.

Harvard University. G. La Piana.

The Imperial Factor in South Africa. By C. W. de Kiewiet, Associate Professor of History in the State University of Iowa. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. Pp. 341. $4.50.)

This book is devoted to the history of ten years, 1871-81, a decade in which may be studied the roots of many major problems which continue to perplex and to baffle South African statesmen. The author has done his work with extraordinary thoroughness and sympathetic understanding, and the result is a fine book, much finer than if Dr. de Kiewiet had tried to cover more ground.

The approach is new and fresh, for instead of portraying in conventional manner the inevitable clash between Briton and Boer the author minimizes the traditional friction between white settlers of different blood and emphasizes the Negro problem, then and now the fundamental issue in South African politics. There were "popgun imperialists and dingy letter writers" trying to make trouble between English and Dutch settlers, but he consistently maintains that this might have been avoided and that even Oom Paul Kruger himself, in the earlier days, was not committed to an anti-British stand.

Black labor is one main theme, and it is to Dr. de Kiewiet's credit that the oppression of the Negro is not laid merely on the doorsteps of the Boers but that a full account is given of his maltreatment in Natal, as a prelude to the Zulu war. The change in British policy brought about by that war, the economies of the British treasury, and the tactlessness of British colonial officials account primarily for the revolt of the Boers in 1881 and the defeat of Carnarvon's cherished dream of a peaceful South African federation.

True, Carnarvon's scheme had been too roughly pressed, and the annexation of the Transvaal hindered and did not help the growth of a confederation sentiment in the Cape. Nevertheless, Boer and Briton did not hate each other, and if the colonial office had been better supported by the treasury at home and better served by its subordinates in the field, all might have turned out well.

But the reverse was the case. The annexation of 1877 did not take place in a vacuum but at a time when Disraeli's government was hard pressed for funds. Only a small sum was accredited to the new colony, insufficient to start housekeeping, and even that fund was almost immediately exhausted by paying debts somewhat dubiously acquired. The British tax collector came on the scene, and he was resented. More serious, perhaps, in the long run was the failure of British officials to placate the more influential citizens

of the annexed republic, and their inexcusable lack of tact was demonstrated over and over again between 1877 and 1880.

The author's portrayal of the above state of affairs is vivid and impartial. He is, in fact, so anxious to be impartial that at times he becomes somewhat difficult to follow, for praise balances censure so continuously that the reader is apt to become confused. To his credit, however, be it said, he has given us the best account available of these eventful years.

Princeton University. WALTER P. HALL.

The Life of John Rushworth, Earl Jellicoe. By Admiral Sir REGINALD H. BACON. (London: Cassell and Company. 1936. Pp. 565. 25*s*.)

THIS work is a labor of love by one eminently qualified to write the biography of "the greatest admiral of modern times" (p. 1). Admiral Bacon, author of the *Dover Patrol* and other books and a lifelong intimate of Earl Jellicoe, has made full use of his unpublished private correspondence and of all published materials. Furthermore, he has embodied, albeit invisibly, the opinions of the admiral on several chapters, notably those on the Grand Fleet and Jutland, to the average reader the most interesting sections of the book. Jellicoe's command of the Grand Fleet has often been described, and in the main Admiral Bacon has little fresh material to add. Yet he has made various contributions. We learn for the first time of Jellicoe's persistent and chivalrous efforts, from motives of loyalty and fleet opinion, to avoid superseding Sir George Callaghan. It was with genuine reluctance that he took over the command. The main naval actions in the North Sea are only sketched, the author concentrating on describing Jellicoe's problems and strategy and in giving an intimate personal portrait of the man. Those who still think of the commander in chief as a lethargic and timid leader who kept the Grand Fleet in harbor most of the time would do well to see the chart (facing p. 194) showing the track of the fleet flagship under Jellicoe. During the period of his command the Grand Fleet steamed 11,350 miles. Admiral Bacon quotes Jellicoe as complaining that they could "bring the Germans to their knees in three months by the blockade, if the Government would . . . take a firm stand, and risk a war with the United States, Norway, and Sweden" (p. 226).

The four Jutland chapters are concise and admirably lucid. Twice "the fate of the Empire was in doubt", first when Jellicoe had to make a "twenty second" decision on which column to deploy (pp. 266-67). His deployment on the eastern division on a south-easterly course enabled him to cross the enemy's "T" and "at once raised him to the first rank as a Naval tactician" (p. 313). The second crucial decision had to be made when Admiral Scheer launched a large-scale torpedo attack to reduce the numbers of the Grand Fleet. Jellicoe promptly turned his fleet away, a maneuver which, his

biographer emphasizes, saved several of the battleships. Admiral Bacon labors hard and, at least to the layman, convincingly to answer all the criticisms which have been leveled at Jellicoe's conduct of the battle. But it seems hardly necessary to the defense of Jellicoe's reputation to maintain that, even had Jutland been fought to a finish, it would have been of no strategic advantage to the British Navy—that the High Sea Fleet could do no harm until it had met and beaten the Grand Fleet (pp. 316-17). The biographer is insistent on the fact that Jellicoe could not run any risks, that his strategy was to keep the Grand Fleet intact and maintain Britain's naval supremacy since the effect of a substantial defeat would be disastrous (pp. 244-45). Another motive for "reasonable caution" was, according to Jellicoe, the possibility of war with the United States, relations having become very strained owing to questions of blockade (pp. 310-11). Who won the battle of Jutland? The Germans annually celebrate it as a German victory on the basis of greater tonnage sunk. The real standard, says Admiral Bacon, is *"the effect the battle has on the outcome of the war.* . . . Judged by this standard Jutland was a substantial victory since it practically destroyed all German hope of obtaining command of the sea" (p. 306). Sir John wrote to Lady Jellicoe a week after the battle: "It is ludicrous for the Germans to claim a victory. Victory always rests with the force that occupies the scene of action. . . . If they had been so confident of victory, they would have tried to go on fighting instead of legging it for home" (p. 306).

At the end of 1916 Jellicoe left the Grand Fleet to become first sea lord, in which office he initiated the measures, principally the convoy system, which broke the German submarine menace. He left the admiralty after a year's service, summarily dismissed for reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained. Admiral Bacon believes that Lloyd George took advantage of the press campaign against Jellicoe to dispose of "this firm, tenacious, and therefore inconvenient man" (p. 388).

Not the least praiseworthy features of this most commendable biography are the many excellent diagrams, maps, and plates; the explanation of all technical terms; and, excepting for Lloyd George, the almost complete absence of rancor. The reviewer would have been happier had Admiral Bacon cited his sources more clearly. Errors of fact are few. The navy scares of 1884 and 1888 are confused (p. 57), also a few of the facts in the outline of Far Eastern diplomacy after 1895, more especially the old-fashioned, now discredited, interpretation of the Boxers (pp. 75, 95). Complete as the biography is, the author confesses to having withheld certain materials, at Lord Jellicoe's request, in view of the controversial issues involved. "However, there they are on record, ready to be given to the world by some future historian" (p. 506).

University of Oregon. ARTHUR J. MARDER.

The Effect of the War in Southeastern Europe. By DAVID MITRANY, Ph. D. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. xiii, 282. $3.00.)

DR. Mitrany's new volume is one of the Carnegie series. Devoted primarily to the Balkan region, the purpose of the work is "to describe not the place but the storm that has passed over it". The volume is divided into four parts: (1) "The Historical Perspective", which traces the development of nationalism and class conflict in the region and the decline and fall of the Habsburg Empire; (2) "The Effect of the War on Government"; (3) "The Effect of the War on Economic Life and Progress"; and (4) "The Epilogue", containing an analysis which contrasts prewar problems with those of the postwar era in the Danubian region. An appendix includes materials on the Serbian exodus during the war, the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities, and the inter-Allied regime in Thrace.

Noting the essential unity of Central and Southeastern Europe, the author remarks that the main thread in the history of Danubian and Eastern Europe has been "the rivalry of the Slav and Germanic groups". Neither the Habsburgs nor the Turks could solve the problem of unity, thanks to the development of nationalism. The Dual Monarchy broke under the strain of the World War. "Instead of trusting in the worth of a good policy at home [Austria-Hungary] tried to hold her peoples by a doubtful policy abroad."

Dr. Mitrany is not satisfied with the settlement at Paris or with the postwar policies in the Danubian region. "Like their forerunners the new peacemakers have been but politicians." The author dislikes many of the frontier provisions. He condemns economic nationalism and political chauvinism but recognizes that these developments are but part and parcel of present-day world policies. Order can come only out of co-operation, of which there are now some signs. But, as Dr. Mitrany says in his conclusion: "all the stones in the mosaic of the Danubian Region, all the elements which have made the panorama of its life, remain virtually untouched. . . . The fate of the old and once great Habsburg Empire is there either as a warning or as a promise, as they may choose, for those who with its possessions have inherited its problems."

The volume is not a work of research. It is rather a synthesis of the Carnegie volumes on the effects of the war in Central and Southeastern Europe. The author, perhaps, emphasizes too much the problem of Austria-Hungary and its collapse at the expense of other developments. Some readers will consider his work too harsh on the Succession States, for, after all, the stage has been changed considerably, and from a broader historical point of view there would seem to be more hope today of a solution of the manifold problems which the Habsburgs did not and could not solve. Some maps and a bibliography would have enhanced the value of the book.

Miami University. HARRY N. HOWARD.

The War and German Society: The Testament of a Liberal. By Professor ALBRECHT MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY, formerly, Director of the Institut für Auswärtige Politik, Hamburg, later, Lecturer at Balliol College, Oxford. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 300. $2.75.)

"THE Testament of a Liberal" is a very appropriate title for this posthumous volume. It contains the reflections, often profound, of an active man nearly sixty, observing his fatherland in 1934 from foreign English shores. Though it sums up to some extent in brief and readable form the material set forth in detail in the larger German volumes of the Economic and Social History of the World War, it is not primarily an attempt to write history but to set down personal impressions. For the impersonal survey of political history it substitutes the author's personal diary, private correspondence, and experiences within the private circle of friends and relatives; in preference to government statistics and memoranda it uses the author's personal finances and talks with village neighbors or university colleagues. It is the personal point of view of a very keen and cultured observer, whose life in his home country had closed, which gives this volume its peculiar charm and value.

One of the most pervading effects of the war, as the author repeatedly insisted, is that it "dispensed with causality". It so completely upset normal life, enriching some and impoverishing others, taking all the sons in one family and sparing all those in another, incomprehensibly and unjustly shifting power and honors, that people lost confidence in justice as one of the principles which regulate the course of human life. A whole generation grew up without security of tenure, material or moral, and without the old traditional sense of values and loyalty. This obliteration of confidence in causality was accentuated by the gulf which increasingly divided the men in the trenches from the people at home. The soldier on leave saw the formerly familiar conditions in his home town fantastically changed. He began to realize the unreliability of the news published by the government for home consumption. He began to nourish a grievance against the organization behind the front (*Etappe*) and to see the failure of the ruling authorities. All this contributed to the so-called revolution of 1918.

As one might expect from a lawyer, one of the author's most interesting sections is the analysis of the centralizing effects of the war on the constitution, the prewar "municipal imperialism" followed by the elimination of civic pride and independence and initiative, the detailed comparison of the ways the revolution of 1918 took place in Prussia and in Württemberg, and the unfortunate introduction of proportional representation as a unifying force for weakening the states and regional groups.

In explaining the effects of the war on finance and industry the author

drew a contrast between Rathenau and Hugenberg, analyzing shrewdly the way each achieved enormous successes and ultimately failed. Throughout he tried carefully to distinguish how far later developments were caused respectively by the war itself, the treaty, inflation, reparations, and the international situation. Contrary to the official German interpretation and contrary to the views of many militarists and pacifists, he usually found that it was directly the war itself, rather than the other alleged factors (themselves, more or less the results of the war, of course), which was the main cause of the social effects analyzed.

These impressions of a liberal are all the more interesting and arresting at a time when liberalism, even in the democracies, is beset by so many pitfalls and enemies.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Third Reich. By HENRI LICHTENBERGER. Translated from the French and edited by KOPPEL S. PINSON. With a preface by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York: Greystone Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 392. $3.00.)

IF by impartiality we mean neutrality, it is safe to say that no impartial work has yet been written on the National Socialist regime in Germany or will be written for many years to come, since so bizarre a political experiment is bound to create a personal reaction either of sympathy or dislike in anyone who writes about it. If by impartiality we mean a judicial, candid, and absolutely fair analysis, Henri Lichtenberger's *Third Reich* perfectly fits the definition. As a Frenchman he distrusts German foreign policy, and as a humanitarian he dislikes any form of dictatorship or racial persecution, but he makes every effort to accord to the German people and their present government every point which can be made in their favor. In comparing his work with, for example, F. L. Schuman's *The Nazi Dictatorship,* one notices at once the contrast between the calm summing up of a judge and the speech of an able prosecuting attorney.

Thus Lichtenberger praises the skill which Hitler showed in steering the policy of his party to final victory by avoiding such extremes of opinion as were represented by Ludendorff and the capitalistic "right" or Strasser and the revolutionary "left" of National Socialism (p. 27); he believes that most National Socialists desire peace and repudiate Spengler's militarism (p. 139); he praises the "Spartan" self-denial of the German people in their endeavor to build up a self-sufficient economic system and holds that these privations are quite insufficient to bring about any important movement against the government (pp. 224-30); he gives great credit to the nationally directed "Labor Front" for its welfare work (pp. 235-36) and estimates the reduction of unemployment in Germany from 1933 to the end of 1935 as amounting to more than two thirds (pp. 249, 252); he states that Hitler's regime stands today as strongly as ever and that no one can predict how long it may

endure (p. 292); finally, he concedes that Germany has a marked advantage over France not only in population "but also in many other respects such as the energy of the tempo of life, the birth rate, the dynamism, the discipline and aptitude for organization . . . and the fact that all power of decision is concentrated in the hands of one leader who can will and act" (p. 293). Furthermore, when he speaks of persecutions, atrocities, and broken treaties it is always calmly and without benefit of adjectives.

Lichtenberger brings out many interesting points which have often been overlooked in discussions of modern Germany. He shows that the Weimar Republic suffered in the German mind for the sins of its predecessor, the monarchy. "It was the men of the old régime and their mistakes that had brought about the ruination of Germany" (p. 13). To say that democracy failed in Germany is, therefore, an error; it merely failed to become popular. He points out the significance of Hitler's surrender to the extreme racial fanatics at the time of the Nuremberg Congress of 1935 after a long period of hesitation between a mildly anti-Semitic policy, with an eye to foreign opinion, and complete ruthlessness (pp. 81, 153). He shows the disruption of home life and family influence by the excessive demand of the party youth organizations on the German boy (p. 169). He contends that no one in France "entertained the idea of keeping Germany as a second-rate Power. . . . All were agreed in their desire to have realized in Europe . . . a state of affairs where, in principle as well as in fact, the equality of all nations in military affairs would be achieved without contest" (p. 106), but he admits that French delay in working out the particular details of general disarmament gave ample excuse for German impatience; he fears that delay in reaching a colonial adjustment might have similar serious consequences (p. 128). The proper attitude of France toward Germany, in his opinion, is one of practical concession, adjustment, and diplomatic friendliness, while not neglecting military preparedness nor trusting unreservedly to German assurances. There is a useful documentary appendix and a short bibliography.

University of Michigan. PRESTON SLOSSON.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

The Legacy of India. Edited by G. T. GARRATT. With an Introduction by the Marquess of Zetland. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xviii, 428. $4.00.)

As the coauthor with Mr. Edward Thompson of *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India,* Mr. Garratt has set a refreshing and somewhat new standard of judicious approach for Britishers in writing about India. He eschews "that slightly hostile and superior attitude which characterizes the work of Englishmen writing on Indian subjects"

(p. 411). Mr. Rudyard Kipling was the most outstanding and influential of the latter type of English writers, and he for long cherished "that obsession, driven into the minds of all Englishmen who went East before the War, that a denial of racial superiority was the one deadly sin" (p. 416). And Kipling had "a long line of predecessors as well as imitators" (p. 414). This hostile predisposition led several British writers on India to deny that any good thing came out of India and that most of what was good in Indian civilization had a Greek or other foreign origin. In his chapter on "Science" Dr. W. E. Clark refers to Sir John Kaye, who, "in order to prove borrowing by India from Greece . . . has even gone so far as to postulate the contents of Greek works which have been lost" (p. 336). Mr. Garratt has definitely repudiated this tradition. Whatever one may think of his particular views, he may be confident that they will be free from the distortions due to racial and political prejudices.

As Mr. Garratt himself admits in the opening words of his chapter on Indo-British civilization, the book deals largely with the past of India. Of the current British era he speaks in despondent tones. "Unfortunately, it must be confessed that the last 150 years have proved the most disappointing, and in some ways the most sterile in Indian history" (p. 394). This was so because Europeans in the nineteenth century went to India not to settle there but to exploit it. And there "were special circumstances which exaggerated this defect in British India" (p. 395). Lord Zetland, one of the most eminent students of Indian culture and now secretary of state for India, combats, in his introduction, Mr. Garratt's thesis, which is so unflattering to the British.

The book is a symposium written by fifteen authorities, including Lord Zetland and Mr. Garratt. The treatment of the subject follows the orthodox conception—which the present reviewer considers invalid—of a distinctively Indian as well as other civilizations, such as the Egyptian, the Greek, the Roman, the Arab, the Persian, and the European or Western. Besides a historical review of the development of Indian culture there is a discussion estimating the extent and character of the indigenous development and the exotic borrowing in Indian culture. Very much more of co-ordinated research is necessary to ascertain definitely the many points still at issue. So far the results of scholarly research have tended to exalt Indian culture. Professor H. G. Rawlinson thus sums up the present situation: "India, it has been said, suffers to-day, in the estimation of the world, more through the world's ignorance of her achievements than the absence or insignificance of those achievements. The work of three generations of scholars has done much to dispel the clouds of prejudice which prevent the West from appreciating the true greatness of Indian culture, but much remains to be done" (pp. 36-37).

Servants of India Society, Poona. P. Kodanda Rao.

Great Britain and China, 1833-1860. By W. C. Costin, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. vi, 362. $5.00.)

Mr. Costin has surveyed 344 volumes of China dispatches in the Public Record Office (series F.O. 17) and some thirty at the Quai d'Orsay, has added valuable items from the Aberdeen, Auckland, and Peel papers in the British Museum and from the archives of the Missions étrangères in Paris, and has condensed the material so obtained into a concise narrative account of British policy in China over a period of twenty-seven years. The resulting volume overflows with valuable material. A multitude of documents hitherto unused serve to illumine many aspects of British policy.

In view of the book's solid value, which if space allowed could be demonstrated here at much greater length, the reviewer does not wish to overemphasize the criticism which follows. But it must be noted that British policy is viewed entirely from the inside. Much of the most informative published research on the period is not mentioned in the "Short Bibliography", nor does it appear to have been used in the writing of the text—for instance, Dr. Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia.* Thus, although the American executive documents are used extensively, the very active American expansion in the Far East in the forties and fifties goes practically unnoticed, and it is stated in summary: "[the United States] were primarily occupied with the consolidation of their domestic economy and the pressing problems of expansion toward the west. Not until 1846 [*sic*] was California ceded to them by Mexico, and at the end of our period the route from Washington to Canton lay through London" (pp. 344-45). This ignores the significance of Caleb Cushing, Commodore Perry, the clipper ship, Russell and Company, and a whole epoch of American activity, which at times decidedly influenced British policy. Other works on American trade and diplomacy, such as those of Latourette, Morison, Callahan, and Dulles, also go unnoticed.

These comments are made on the assumption that British policy in China was formulated in response to a situation and that the critical historian must study the situation as well as the response. On such a basis it is obviously impossible to agree that "the publication of the Peiping archives . . . may yield some fresh illustrations of the motives of the Chinese Court and its local officers, but it is probable that our knowledge of events will not thereby be greatly increased" (p. vi). It is pertinent to ask what is meant by "events", those referred to by the British consuls or those unknown to them? For example, Mr. Costin devotes only half a sentence to the Foochow consul's efforts "to maintain for the Church Missionary Society the position which it had obtained in the city" (p. 168). On this subject the *I Wu Shih Mo* (Barbarian Affairs) contains more than a score of memorials and edicts. In other words, the Chinese materials come to us from another

universe of discourse. They do not give the data that British consuls, if miraculously put in the position of the yamen writers, would have given. That is precisely their value. Can we really understand the contact and friction between two civilizations, of which British policy in China was a function, without extended reference to the records and motives of both sides? Mr. Costin's Chinese authorities are necessarily shadowy figures from which emanate ineffectual statements couched in quaint consular interpreter's English. The chapter on Elliot at Canton barely refers to Commissioner Lin, who was actually the central figure in the situation. There is no reference to P. C. Kuo's *A Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War* (Shanghai, 1935), which uses the Chinese materials extensively.

It is this lack of consideration for the scene as a whole, especially its Chinese and American aspects, which no doubt lies behind the paucity of critical comment in the volume. Nearly every page presents evidence for the elucidation of which perhaps another page could have been written. To cite only one example, Keying's patronizing gestures of intimacy with Pottinger in 1843 are neatly summarized from Pottinger's description (p. 111), but the reader is given no inkling of the significance of this unprecedented conduct, which was part of Keying's settled policy.

Romanization of Chinese names follows that version most common in the dispatches, resulting in "Loochow" for "Liu Ch'iu" (p. 12), "Hung Siu-tsuee" for "Hung Hsiu-ch'uan" (p. 159), and other inconsequential variations. "Kwantung" (*i.e.*, southern Manchuria) is used for "Kwangtung" (Canton province) throughout.

It should be emphasized that this volume is pioneer work. Chinese foreign relations and even British policy in China are relatively untouched fields. No studies have yet appeared, for instance, based on the British legation archives for China (F. O. 228). For this reason Mr. Costin's work, which is a faithful and accurate summary of an immense amount of material, will be invaluable in the further exploration of the field.

Harvard University. J. K. Fairbank.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Historia de la nación argentina desde los orígenes hasta la organización definitiva en 1862. Ricardo Levene, director general. Volume I, *Tiempos préhistóricos y protohistóricos.* Por Joaquín Frenguelli *et al.* Volume II, *Europa y España y el momento histórico de los descubrimientos.* Por Clemente Ricci *et al.* [Junta de historia y numismática americana.] (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad. 1936; 1937. Pp. 722; viii, 660.)

The Junta de historia y numismática americana of Buenos Aires re-

cently undertook to publish under the direction of the eminent historian, Señor Ricardo Levene, a co-operative history of the Argentine nation. His collaborators in the task of directing this work are Señores Rómulo Zabala, Octavio R. Amadeo, Enrique de Gandía, and Manuel V. Figuerero. This history is to be composed of eleven volumes arranged in five parts. The first part, including only one volume, is devoted to the aboriginal cultures of southern South America. The second part, composed of three volumes, is to be concerned with Spain and her domination in the Indies. The third part, made up of one volume, is to deal with the revolutionary movements which separated the American colonies from the mother country. The fourth part, in three volumes, is to narrate the history of Argentina from 1810 to 1862. The fifth part, which is to include three volumes, will contain historical accounts of the provinces and the territories of Argentina from 1810 to 1862, as well as an analytical index to the series.

The decision of the learned editorial board to end this history in 1862 will cause regret to many North American students of Argentine history. This policy accords, however, with the general practice of Latin-American historians, who deal gingerly with the recent decades of their history. In some other particulars this Argentine co-operative historical enterprise resembles the *Histoire générale* of Lavisse and Rambaud. Almost all of the chapters in the two volumes under review are followed by selected bibliographical lists. Moreover, the *Historia de la nación argentina* is not only equipped with footnotes but also with illustrations. The list of contributors includes not only well-known historians of Argentina but also some historical writers of Spain, Brazil, and the United States. In the section introductory to the text of this history Enrique de Gandía furnishes an account of the origin and activities of the Junta de historia y numismática americana.

All of the ten contributors to the first volume are South Americans. The first chapter by Dr. Joaquín Frenguelli, director of the Museo de la Plata, describes the geology of Argentina with special relation to the mooted problem of the antiquity of man in South America. The second chapter by Milcíades Alejo Vignati deals with the remains of prehistoric man found within the limits of the onetime viceroyalty of La Plata. Although Vignati pays a tribute to his fellow countryman Florentino Ameghino, yet he rejects the hypothesis that man appeared on the South American continent at a very remote period. In two other chapters of this volume Vignati considers the indigenous cultures of the pampas and of Patagonia and even considers the Araucanian culture. A large part of this volume is made up of studies by José Imbelloni, Eduardo Casanova, Fernando Márquez Miranda, Emilie H. and Duncan L. Wagner, Enrique Palavecino, Francisco de Aparicio, and Antonio Serrano of the pre-Columbian civilization in South America extending from Humahuaca to Tierra del Fuego.

The second volume is divided into two parts. To a galaxy of Argentine writers the director has added some distinguished foreigners. In the first part of this volume there is depicted the social, economic, and political condition of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as European arts and letters during that period, with special attention to geographical science. Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Pedro Henríquez Ureña furnish an account of Spanish culture and institutions during the Middle Ages. Jorge Cabral Texo describes the evolution of Castilian law, while Rafael Altamira gives an admirable survey of Spanish civilization in the sixteenth century. Important maritime expeditions prior to the age of Columbus are discussed by Enrique de Gandía.

The second part of this volume contains three chapters of prime interest to students of American history. In a learned account of the immortal enterprise of Christopher Columbus, Diego L. Molinari considers some controverted problems of the era of discovery. He takes the view that the great admiral was certainly born in Genoa in 1451. In sharp contrast with the findings of Henry Vignaud, this Argentine writer maintains that Columbus was in fact influenced by Toscanelli to sail westward. In his chapter on the discovery of Brazil, Max Fleiuss, the permanent secretary of the Instituto historico e geographico brasileiro, makes a thorough analysis of the enterprise of Pedro Alvares Cabral and reaches the well-considered conclusion that the deliberate purpose of this Portuguese navigator in 1500 was to reach a land which for decades had been known to some Europeans as Brazil. In another chapter Enrique de Gandía, utilizing recent publications, traces the exploits of Juan Díaz de Solis, Hernando de Magallanes, and Sebastian Cabot in the discovery and exploration of the region which in colonial times was often designated as La Plata.

Some readers may feel that in the section depicting European conditions the canvas is rather broad. Yet these volumes indubitably reflect great credit upon Argentine historical scholarship. The reviewer will be much surprised if the succeeding volumes do not entitle this series to a high rank among the best works of co-operative historical scholarship of our time.

University of Illinois. WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won: Indian Land Tenure in America. By J. P. KINNEY. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 366. $4.00.)

THIS book, notwithstanding its main title, is an attempt to present "the legislative and administrative record of three hundred years regarding the status of Indian ownership of land" within the United States. As a history of legislation dealing with Indian land tenure it is a success, but it fails to discuss adequately the administrative record. It might serve as a manual of

Indian land tenure in the United States, but even here there are unfortunate gaps. The intriguing story of the sale of the reservations in eastern Kansas is omitted; little complete statistical information is included on the allotment policy; and the disposal of Indian trust and ceded lands and Indian scrip is barely mentioned. The development of the allotment policy is traced in detail through the statutes, and this is a real contribution. Even more valuable, perhaps, is the section dealing with the forest policy on Indian lands. The author is at home in this field and presents an interesting and critical evaluation.

The study is prepared by one long active in the Indian Office, but rarely are unpublished documents used. In fact, the book is based largely on the statutes, reports of the Indian commissioners, and a few congressional documents. Long extracts from these are included, frequently when brief summaries would be preferable or when the full documents should be placed in an appendix. Some of the most obvious published sources and monographs as well as manuscript collections—the Ewing papers and the Browning diary, to mention only two—have not been used. No familiarity with the rich archival resources of the Indian Office is revealed.

The result is a barren legislative outline with no analysis of the dynamic forces which produced changes in Indian policy. The attitude of Congress and the administrations is interpreted solely on the basis of statutes and public pronouncements. The influence of the railroads, the lumber, mining, and cattle companies, the local chambers of commerce, the land speculators, Indian traders, contractors, squatters, and homesteaders is not appreciated, nor is the corruption, fraud, and chicanery which characterized the administration of Indian affairs from the time of Pierce to Cleveland recognized. The relationship of the Indian land question to the ending of the treaty-making policy is not shown, nor is mention made of George W. Julian and William Lawrence, who were most responsible for that action.

The discussions of the adoption of the Indian Intercourse Act, the Dawes Act, and the Wheeler-Howard Act are disappointing. The author's almost complete reliance on the reports of the Indian Office for the administrative side naturally gives him only the official angle and that very obscurely. While everything done by the Indian Office is not quite whitewashed in this book, little understanding of the operation of the "Indian Ring" and of its influence on Indian land policy in the mid-nineteenth century is shown. Worse still are the many historical and typographical errors that appear. It is certainly far more than 3000 miles from Cuba to China (p. 1); the Pre-emption Act of 1841 did not provide a variable land price (p. 138); the Know Nothing Party did not date from 1843 (p. 140); Manypenny's book is *Our Indian Wards,* not *Wars* (p. 348).

Cornell University. PAUL WALLACE GATES.

The Power To Govern: The Constitution—Then and Now. By WALTON H. HAMILTON and DOUGLASS ADAIR. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1937. Pp. 254. $2.50.)

Bulwark of the Republic: A Biography of the Constitution. By BURTON J. HENDRICK. [An Atlantic Monthly Press Publication.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 467. $3.50.)

THESE two volumes reflect the dominant political thought of today in their stress upon the national rather than the federal character of the central government. The authors have faith in the Constitution, as they interpret it, but Hamilton and Adair, unlike Hendrick, do not look with favor upon the work of the Supreme Court. *The Power to Govern* was evidently in press before the memorable judicial decisions of April, 1937, had been given.

By avoiding questions of jurisprudence and by choosing about twenty-five men well known to history as the pegs upon which to hang his story, Hendrick admirably achieves his purpose of interesting the general reader in the formation and life of the Constitution. The large space devoted to Timothy Pickering may occasion surprise, but the author's other selections from among the men of prominence before the Civil War appear to have been almost inevitable. Of the ten leaders used by Professor Edward Elliott over twenty-five years ago as the foci for a similar study (*Biographical Story of the Constitution,* New York, 1910), Thaddeus Stevens alone is missing as a conspicuous figure in Hendrick's narrative. The services of Washington, Marshall, Webster, Justice Samuel F. Miller, and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes are given special acclaim by Hendrick. He dislikes the radical reconstructionists sufficiently to call them "damnably wrong" (p. 365) and believes that the views of seven Supreme Court justices are ample as a summary of the progress of the Constitution from 1869 to 1937. "The judiciary has assumed this new importance", he explains, "chiefly because the questions arising in modern days are more susceptible to judicial interpretation than those of the ante-bellum era" (p. 414).

Nearly five sixths of this very readable survey deal with the years before 1865. The interpretation is rarely new, and there are not a few minor factual inaccuracies and overstatements. Men like Jefferson, who broke a lance for state rights, are labeled "foes . . . of this Constitution" (p. 111). An apparent reliance upon the work of Fiske on the Confederation period and the volumes of Holst and Rhodes on the generation preceding the Civil War gives the author's treatment of these years a point of view that more recent scholarship has largely outmoded. Little exception, however, can be taken to his general theses that "the Constitution, like everything else, is first of all biography" (p. 7) and that "the history of the Constitution . . . might be summed up in a single phrase: 'From Nationalism to Nationalism' " (p. x). "There is really nothing new in American history!",

concludes the author. "Each generation seems to revive all the departed ghosts of its predecessors" (p. 368).

The accuracy of this last statement would be challenged by Hamilton and Adair. Their volume is designed to show that a judicial "gloss" has given the commerce clause of the Constitution a new and far less ample content than was intended by the Fathers (p. 186). As a result, a Constitution made for the purpose of controlling an "unruly economic order" in 1787 is inadequate for a like task in 1937 (pp. 14, 36). If the full authority conferred upon the central government by Madison and his colleagues can be recovered, the administration at Washington will no longer lack "the power to govern".

Eighteenth century dictionaries, pamphlets, letters, and the records of the Federal Convention are drawn upon by Hamilton and Adair to show that the Constitution was made by mercantilists who understood "commerce" to mean "all activities directly affecting the wealth of the nation" (p. 63). They created a national system endowed with the power to shape "trade, manufacture, and even agriculture" (p. 94) in accordance with the public welfare and to levy taxes for purposes of regulation as well as for revenue (p. 126). They did not recognize the present-day distinction between interstate and intrastate commerce and believed that commerce wholly within one state could be regulated by Congress if it was "of concern 'to more than one State'" (pp. 141-42). The preamble of the Constitution with its general welfare clause "is an expression of the very spirit of the Convention" and only "the narrow pedantry of a later age" has reduced to a "glorified flourish" what was meant to be "standards of reference" for the central government in all of its work (pp. 177-78). These conclusions are reached by the authors after a masterly argument which is the more persuasive because it is so well phrased.

The reviewer, however, cannot share the assurance of the authors that they have discovered the true intent of the Fathers. If the commerce power was meant to be so inclusive in scope, several of the other grants in Article I, section 8, of the Constitution are clearly redundant. If different eighteenth century writings are quoted, if attention is directed to the division of control over commerce existing in fact between each colony and the home government before the Revolution, if the federal rather than the national character of the Constitution is stressed, and if the Ninth and Tenth Amendments are given greater emphasis, Hamilton and Adair's conclusions will at least seem open to question.

The University of Chicago. WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON.

Federal Justice. By HOMER CUMMINGS and CARL MCFARLAND. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 576. $4.00.)

THIS volume enriches the corpus of historical information both as regards

the Cabinet and constitutional law and practice. It is the fruit of a systematic examination of the archives of the Department of Justice in Washington. The record system was introduced by Attorney General Wirt in Monroe's Cabinet, but for the first thirty years the Attorney General preserved few official papers. The files of other departments and the collections of the Library of Congress have been diligently combed to yield new information on the period before the formal organization of the department and to shed light on its huge mass of hitherto undigested papers, which begin in 1870. A signal example of the effective use of papers in Washington outside the department's files is the opinion of Taney as Attorney General regarding the right of slave states to seize and imprison Negro employees on any vessels coming into their ports, which embodies dicta anticipating the *Dred Scott Case*. This was omitted from the later compilation of the official opinions and is found among the Department of State's letters. A valuable bibliographical note which is appended will be found useful to both archivists and historians.

The Attorney General's letter books and department files give us at times an informal, off-the-record picture of Federal justice. Problems of territorial administration become more vital when we read the wrathful demand of a brigadier general for the removal of a district attorney in New Mexico or the request, as late as 1869, of a territorial judge for an opinion by Hoar because he had no books to formulate his own. "The Government cannot get fair play", wrote a district attorney in 1881, "where either of the Judge's three sons and particularly the youngest is employed by the defence." The vast quantity of important historical papers of district attorneys and the department outside the Federal capital were not exploited in this investigation and provide an opportunity for further monographic studies along lines laid down by the authors. In at least three aspects the present work would have been strengthened by inclusion of such material. In the disputes over the East Florida grants, the study of Civil War prize cases, and the analysis of the work of the Bureau of Investigation during the World War, Federal archives in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere would have made the study more nearly definitive.

The authors trace the history of the office of Attorney General from its inception in 1789, when it was not even a Cabinet post, to the expansion of its functions as a Department of Justice after 1870. The work of the Attorney General in making policy, furnishing government officials with advice, and supervising the nation's legal business in the Federal courts is systematically treated. Of special timeliness is the chapter dealing with the effort to safeguard the country's natural resources, and in an illuminating chapter the authors trace the gradual expansion of the department's duties of investigation and detection.

Some readers may feel that the title of this book is a misnomer. With

frigid objectivity the authors review the administration of justice down to Mr. Cumming's own regime. Certainly the picture is not always a pretty one. In the days when the Attorney General did not restrict his activities to official litigation, incidents like the case of the *Amiable Isabella,* when Wirt acted as private counsel for the ship's captors, are not unusual. When Reverdy Johnson in allowing an absurdly high claim appeared to favor Secretary of War Crawford's private law practice, when Black in the *Castillero Case* played one California land title claimant against another, only to appear later against the government and collect an unprecedented fee, or when, in the star route cases, a lack of good faith on the part of Cabinet officers was revealed, much damage was done to any reputation the office may have gained for fair dealing. The bungling of trust prosecutions by the department brings out only too clearly the failure of the government to work out a consistent policy toward monopoly. Where labor unions or large corporations appear to have acted on the basis of private assurances of cabinet officers, subsequent prosecutions are difficult to justify. It was not Mr. Cummings but Representative Beck of Kentucky who, reviewing the gross abuses under the marshal's fee system during Reconstruction, assailed the department as "a Department of *injustice* instead of a Department of *Justice*".

It is perhaps natural for the government's chief law officer to consider the American social scene as a series of hospital cases. Lawyers are continually dealing with maladjustments. Viewing American history from the days of the Whisky Rebellion down to more recent labor troubles, the authors may be thought to overemphasize the strain of lawlessness in American life. An equally good case might be made for the other side. Colonial historians will properly take exception to the generalization regarding the low prestige of the common law (pp. 2, 464), which the authors apply equally to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is hardly fair to stigmatize the lawyers on the eve of the Revolution as "characters of disrepute" (p. 2), considering their vast influence. Despite minor criticisms it is encouraging to know that the Department of Justice today is so well grounded in the experiences of the past, and it is to be hoped that no dichotomy will arise between the views of the chief legal counsel of the government acting in his official capacity and as a historian. The faintest spark of suspicion that the two may even now operate quite independently of each other is kindled by a reading of this objective rule laid down by Messrs. Cummings *et al.*: "Even when judicial positions are created, the selection of judges is an executive duty of the greatest moment, requiring time, deliberation, consultation, and the consent of the Senate."

The College of the City of New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

The Settlement of Canadian-American Disputes: A Critical Study of Methods and Results. By P. E. CORBETT, Former Fellow of All Souls

College, Oxford, and Dean of the Faculty of Law, McGill University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 134. $2.50.)

THE author in his preface explains that, as this book is not specially designed for the legal profession, attention is not concentrated on fine points of law, "the dominant motive throughout being the common social utility of the methods employed and results achieved in Canadian-American arbitration". The present importance of this phase of the subject is, in his opinion, enhanced by the absence of conditions which in the past induced "minor movements toward annexation" and the growth of factors, particularly in the domain of protected industry, tending to perpetuate separateness. In keeping with this general design, he gives a condensed version of the whole history of Canadian-American conciliation and arbitration proceedings, of which the present reviewer happens to have been the somewhat voluminous historian; and, after classifying and discussing the numerous cases under the heads of boundary settlements, fisheries questions, inland waterways, and miscellaneous claims, he considers the contributions that have been made to international law and procedure and the merits and defects of existing machinery for international settlements, including general arbitration treaties.

With the author's general accuracy and fairness I have no fault to find. When he says (p. 11) that the Senate's consent to the boundary compromise of the Ashburton-Webster treaty "was only induced by Webster's use of the famous 'red-line' map", he states an impression which, on the incomplete data so far published, has not been questioned. On the merits of the settlement it was the United States rather than Canada that had a grievance. The author justly gives James Buchanan much credit for the adjustment of the Oregon boundary; but equal credit is due to Thomas H. Benton, then a United States Senator from Missouri. The animadversions (pp. 19-23) on certain phases of the Alaska boundary settlement of 1903 are not unjustified; but I venture to point out that Lord Alverstone, who cast the deciding vote, denounced, when it first appeared, the insinuation that he was governed by political considerations, and later, in his autobiography, affirmed that he acted "purely in a judicial capacity". In reality the Canadian contentions in the Alaskan boundary case, like those of the United States in the fur-seal arbitration, derived color chiefly from the fact that a government was willing to present them. For the United States' protest that the compensation awarded by the Halifax Commission in 1877 to Great Britain for the temporary grant of certain fisheries privileges was excessive, there probably would have been less room had the American commissioner's mastery of the subject matter been comparable with that of Sir Alexander Galt, the British-Canadian commissioner. As regards the award in the North At-

lantic Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague, in 1910, I most heartily concur in the author's statement that "the almost universal unanimity in this important decision, disposing of a series of conflicts that reached back over a century, is a notable tribute to the personnel of the tribunal and to the provisions of The Hague conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes".

Under the title of "Inland Waterways" the author furnishes a compact commentary on the International Joint Commission, established under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. Not only has this body, which consists of six members, three appointed on each side, compulsory jurisdiction of acts affecting the maintenance of the natural level and flow of "boundary waters" as defined in the treaty, but the high contracting parties bind themselves to refer to it for examination and report, whenever the United States or Canada shall so request, any other questions or differences involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either contracting party in relation to the other or its inhabitants along the common frontier. The commission also may, if both parties consent, give an arbitral decision. This has not as yet been done; but, as the author well says, the first and second functions have repeatedly been exercised with great benefit to common interests.

In his chapter on "miscellaneous claims" the author devotes several pages to controversies that grew out of our late national prohibition regime. This topic is entitled "The Vinces, Mazel Tov, I'm Alone, etc.", a cryptic jumble suggestive of the secret as well as of the overt intoxications, confusions, and disorders of that historic and histrionic era. But, after this dutiful excursion, the author recurs to the discussion of normal questions, such as international servitudes, prescription, the effect of war on treaties, and the existing machinery for the settlement of international disputes. In this last category he includes the so-called Bryan treaty of 1914, which many governments adopted, and that strange and flaming device variously known as the "Pact of Paris", the "Briand-Kellogg Pact", the "Kellogg-Briand Pact", or simply the "Kellogg Pact", which he anchors and identifies as "the much-trumpeted treaty signed at Paris on August 27, 1928". For the Bryan treaty, perhaps partly because he has read it, he shows more consideration than many other commentators have done; and he properly questions the wisdom of permitting long-standing vacancies in the commission's membership. The fact that this has occurred serves to indicate that governments may, in the competitive and clamorous excitement of professing a desire for peace, forget the means of attaining it. As regards the Kellogg Pact our author points out that, although it "purports to outlaw war in general and prohibits the settlement of any difference by other than peaceful means", it "makes no positive provision for adjudication and, moreover, is stultified by reservations which except areas of special interest and embody an illimitable concept of self-defense". This epitaph appropriately follows an exact recital of the pact's stipulations.

Fortunately, as the author remarks, "the long habit of peaceful settlement has simply driven out of the minds" of the United States and Canadian peoples "the thought of war as a mode of vindicating their rights against one another". This reciprocal confidence had, as I believe, its origin in the agreement of 1817, which, without regard to the question of military advantage or disadvantage to either party, abolished warlike naval forces on the Great Lakes.

I am happy to commend the present volume as a concise, thoughtful, and illuminating presentation of the various aspects of the subject to which it relates.

New York City. JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations. By JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. x, 576. $4.00.)

IN the United States, during the past decade, there has been a steady growth of interest in the history of Canada and Canadian-American relations. It is reflected in the increasing attention given to Canadian history in our colleges and universities and in the comprehensive plan for a series of studies on the relations of Canada and the United States, projected a few years ago by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, and now in course of publication. Many factors have contributed to this increased interest in the history of our northern neighbor. Both Canadians and Americans have been responsible for it. One of the first Americans to recognize the importance of the study of Canadian-American relations was Professor Callahan. As long ago as the nineties he commenced his researches in American-Canadian policy. In 1898 he published his *Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations,* a study noted for its thoroughness and breadth of vision. After the publication of this book Professor Callahan turned his attention for a time to other fields of American foreign policy. In the past decade, however, "stimulated by the success of the permanent international joint commission established by the Root-Bryce treaty of 1909 . . . and by the success of direct American Canadian diplomatic communication", he resumed the study of American diplomatic relations with Canada, and his new researches have resulted in the publication of the present volume.

This work is the first attempt to present a historical survey of American relations with Canada distinctly from the viewpoint of American foreign policy, and as such it differs from Dr. Hugh Keenleyside's *Canada and the United States* (1929), which deals more generally with Canadian-American inter-relations. Although Professor Callahan's primary object is "to present logically and judicially the dominant or significant facts or factors of American policy", he has devoted considerable thought "to the collection and interpretation of data relating to the basis and influence of Canadian policy

and to the more general subject of diplomatic relations". Every major problem which has confronted the two countries since the beginning of the American Revolution is discussed, for the most part in a balanced and objective manner. The author has given much attention to the study of primary source materials. His work is based largely on printed documentary evidence, although some valuable collections of manuscripts in Canada, England, and the United States have been utilized extensively and to good advantage. Professor Callahan says that "he has been diligent in the pursuit of evidence needed to avoid the ordinary dangers of error in statements of narrative or of conclusions". He has been in the main successful in avoiding errors, but here and there one notes erroneous statements and conclusions. Many of these could have been avoided had the author read a number of monographic studies of more or less recent date. For instance, no one can afford to ignore the excellent studies that have been made on the annexation agitation in the United States during the decades of the sixties and seventies, but nowhere in the treatment of this subject does Professor Callahan seem to show any knowledge of Theodore C. Blegen's "James W. Taylor" (*Minnesota History Bulletin,* Vol. I), Joe Patterson Smith's *The Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era* (1933), or Ruth Ellen Sandborn's, "The United States and the British Northwest, 1865-1870" (*North Dakota Historical Quarterly,* Vol. VI). And had the writer been familiar with the reviewer's article, "The Origin of the So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" (*Canadian Historical Review,* Vol. X), he would likely have been convinced that the "so-called" Fenian raid was in no wise a Fenian enterprise but rather a private filibustering expedition incepted and carried on by William B. O'Donoghue, Fenian and onetime official in the Louis Reil provisional government of Assiniboia.

As a pioneering work, *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations* is eminently satisfactory, but it can by no means be considered as a definitive study of the subject.

Vassar College. JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendenten Volksgruppe. Von HEINZ KLOSS. (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag; New York: B. Westermann Company. 1937. Pp. 328. $3.00.)

THIS volume is not another history of the German element in the United States. It is concerned only with the many attempts since colonial times to consolidate and unify the German stock in America. Beginning with the feeble efforts of pious leaders like Zinzendorf and Otterbein to build a *civitas dei* of Germans in the eighteenth century, the narrative deals with all the important unifying efforts of German-American groups, religious and secular, to 1930. Dr. Kloss, for the first time, has carefully differentiated

among the many groups that compose the German element in the United States, such as the liberals in the cities, the conservatives in rural areas, the Protestant peasants of colonial times, the nineteenth century immigration led by political refugees and intellectuals whose viewpoint was irreconcilable with that of German Catholics and Old Lutherans, the moderate liberals of the 1830's, and the more radical forty-eighters and socialist workers whose spirit probably found most complete expression in the *Turnvereine*. Earlier writers have limited themselves largely to the activities of German urban groups. In this study the rural and more conservative church groups receive due recognition.

During the 1830's efforts were made to plant German colonies, to establish institutions of higher learning, and to raise German to a state of equality with English in the United States. The goal was bilingual schools and a kind of dual German-American nationalism that suggests to some extent the present-day French Canadianism. Moreover, an effort was made to include the descendants of colonial Germans and the church people, as well as the later arrivals, in a general program of unification. Dr. Kloss correctly suggests that the period of the 1830's has been neglected in comparison with the attention given the forty-eighters. The narrative aims to be coldly objective, but the author cannot conceal his preference for the program of the *Dreissiger* over that of the urban, radical *Achtundvierziger*. Kapp and Schurz rejected bilingual schools, urged Americanization, and saw no place for German issues in American politics. Their radical cosmopolitanism, moreover, offended the conservatism of rural and church groups. In the present century the National German-American Alliance, the largest single mass movement among the German-Americans, failed, like its predecessors, not only because of the war but also because of the distrust of many church, labor, and intellectual groups. Dr. Kloss discusses the program and techniques of other groups, like the *Turnerbund*, the Catholic Central Verein, and the Steuben Society. The reader must conclude that German-Americans, like other people, organize largely to amuse themselves, that many confused the battle against prohibition with a mission to preserve *Kultur*, and that the rural element, even if it does attend German churches, has little genuine interest in a German *Volksgruppe*. Dr. Kloss has done a thorough piece of work, some of which constitutes real pioneering.

On page 282 the discussion of the election of 1916 gives an entirely unwarranted importance to the German vote, and the same is true with reference to the Steuben Society (p. 287). American historians of repute have not played down German contributions in order to exalt the Huguenots (p. 305). German-American sympathy with the Boers was probably due to anti-British sentiment, not to race relationship (p. 274). Moreover, this was the prevailing American reaction. To speak of certain "German"

characteristics (p. 24, 25) as unique, or to say that German is just as much an "American language" as English (p. 79), or to suggest the possibility of developing German in American colleges to the extent that students would elect to write theses in German rather than in English (p. 176) is simply wishful thinking without any basis in fact. The title of the book might lead one to expect some conclusions as to the intrinsic merits of the many "reclamation" projects tried on German-Americans or an opinion about the Nazi techniques of the *Amerikadeutscher Volksbund*, organized in 1936, but here the author is discreetly silent. He cuts his story short with 1930.

Oberlin College. CARL WITTKE.

John Endecott: A Biography. By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. 301. $5.00.)

JOHN Endecott arrived in Salem harbor in September, 1628, after an eleven weeks' voyage from England, and from then until his death in 1665 he was closely identified with the Massachusetts Bay settlement. So intimate was the connection, in fact, that he may be regarded as one of the "builders of the Bay Colony". This volume is more than a mere biography of Endecott, for it sketches in broad outline the history of Massachusetts during the first three or four decades of its existence. Mr. Mayo is thoroughly familiar with the early New England scene, and he writes of the Puritan environment in which Endecott lived and worked with understanding and sympathy. Yet it is no filiopietistic history which the author has given us. He is aware of the shortcomings of the people with whom he has to deal, and his treatment is characterized by a scholarly objectivity which is peculiarly essential when one is concerned with personalities and incidents that have been storm centers of controversy for some three hundred years.

Most of the sources which have been used are familiar to students of the period, being available in published form. The author has supplemented these materials, however, by a careful study of the Endecott Papers preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Information concerning Endecott's early life in England is very meager, and Mr. Mayo has been able to add but little to the facts already known. By far the greater part of the volume is therefore concerned with the American scene. The period has been covered so many times by others that it seems fair to say that the book has been written primarily for the general student rather than for the specialist in New England history. Yet because of the charm of the author's treatment, the book will appeal to the specialist as well as to the average reader.

For the layman who may require guidance there are unobtrusive explanations of Puritan ideas and institutions. Endecott's career cannot be understood without some knowledge of his contemporaries, and there are

valuable sketches of such figures as Edward Johnson, Roger Williams, John Winthrop, and even the redoubtable Thomas Morton of Merrymount. The author touches upon such varied matters as Congregationalism and Separatism, town and church government, trade and depression, the New England Confederation, and troubles with Quakers and Baptists. The concluding period of about fifteen years, sometimes known as the "reign of John Endecott", is treated in especially interesting fashion, with close attention to problems involving the relations between colony and mother country.

In a work of this scope, in which a high degree of compression has been necessary, it is inevitable that there are statements or conclusions with which some readers will differ. Thus the reviewer feels that the explanation of the origin of New England town government in terms of the English parish, modified by frontier conditions, is rather too simple a generalization concerning a complex development. These matters are relatively unimportant, however, and genuinely controversial questions, such as the treatment accorded the Quakers, are handled with fairness and, what is equally important, with understanding. Mr. Mayo writes with ease and charm, and his narrative is flavored with humor and occasional pungent *obiter dicta.* No one, either scholar or layman, who is interested in our Puritan forefathers and in early New England, should fail to read this biography. It should be added that the volume is a superb specimen of the bookmaker's art, in which both the author and the Harvard University Press may feel just pride.

Dartmouth College. WAYNE E. STEVENS.

The Colonial Period of American History. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History, Emeritus, Yale University. *The Settlements,* Volume III. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xiii, 354. $4.00.)

WITH this volume Professor Andrews concludes that part of his monumental history which is concerned primarily with the planting of English settlements in America. Here he covers a second period of settlement, lacking the epic character of the earlier seventeenth century but even more significant in the development of empire. "Whereas the first period of colonization took its cues from the past, this, the second period, was preparing the cues for the future" (p. xiii). It is a period which begins definitely enough with the capture of Jamaica in 1655 but has no clear-cut ending. For New York the volume concludes with Leisler and the Revolution of 1689; in the Jerseys, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania, the early years of the eighteenth century come into the picture.

The overthrow of proprietary control, in its prerogative character if not everywhere in point of law, marks for Professor Andrews the end of a

process which began with Jamestown, but which, after the middle of the century, took new turnings because of new forces at work both at home and in America. Confusing and conflicting these forces were in many respects: the waning of Puritanism, a new spirit of toleration reflected in the newer charters, emerging forces of business enterprise supplying now a basis for statecraft; the financial necessities of the restored Stuarts; the development of a vigorous American localism, in conflict during this epoch with proprietary regimes. In America special significance attaches to these internal conflicts, which were sapping proprietary control, and to the beginnings of international rivalry, continental as well as commercial in character. And of course the later seventeenth century saw also the development of an English policy of commercial and colonial management. But the fuller treatment of this latter theme, both for the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, is reserved for another volume.

Within this framework the author displays again his wide scholarship and his talent for historical analysis. In so brief a notice special comment must be confined to one section, the Carolinas. My reading of these chapters has increased my admiration for Professor Andrews's unique mastery of the colonial field, which enables him to digest the work of other scholars, place it in its setting, and at the same time contribute fresh fact and interpretation through an independent examination of sources. This is the first general history of the colonies not merely to recognize the frontier character of the Carolinas but to present their institutional history as the decadence of a proprietary regime confronted by problems of international and imperial significance with which it was inadequate to cope.

I have found here only a few minor statements to which exception might be taken. A larger importance would seem to attach to the border land policy of the lords proprietors, along with their failures in defense, in bringing on the revolution of 1719. Professor Andrews believes (see p. 228) that "no such county as 'Port Royal' was ever officially so called". But in 1685 the proprietors were issuing instructions for the appointment of a sheriff and justices in "Port Royal County".

The University of Michigan. VERNER W. CRANE.

Friend Anthony Benezet. By GEORGE S. BROOKES. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 516. $5.00.)

THIS book is divided into three parts: a biography of its subject (175 pp.); letters by him (205 pp.), to him (25 pp.), and about him (30 pp.), with some of his "minor writings" (28 pp.); and a bibliography (25 pp.). Three biographical sketches of Benezet had been published, in 1817, 1839, and 1898, but the volume which we now possess is the first full-length biography of this eighteenth century American of outstanding personal worth and historic interest.

Following three chapters on the typical and romantic flight of the Benezet family from Huguenot-persecuting France to tolerant Philadelphia, Mr. Brookes devotes one chapter each to Anthony Benezet as the gentle schoolmaster, the friend of exiled Acadians, a crusader against slavery, a champion of the Indians, an advocate of peace, and a model Quaker.

At the age of thirty, in 1743, Benezet began a teacher's career of forty years in Philadelphia Quaker schools for boys and for girls, the latter perhaps the first of its kind in America, and made it distinctive by his progressive ideals of discipline and study. Having applied these ideals with success in his own school, he advocated them for others in letters, leaflets, articles, and books.

An intimate friend of John Woolman, Benezet contributed largely to the work for the freedom and development of the Negro. In 1750 he started in his own house an evening school for Negro children and maintained it there for twenty years, during which he devoted his days to teaching a school for poor white girls. The last two years of his life were devoted to teaching Negro children, and he bequeathed his small fortune to the school erected for them.

For the abolition of the slave trade and slavery Benezet did pioneer work. In 1754 he wrote an "Epistle" against these evils. Others of his writings against them were published in England and Germany, and he co-operated in various ways with Clarkson, Franklin, Wesley, Granville Sharp, and other antislavery pioneers.

His efforts in behalf of the Acadian exiles in Philadelphia and of the Moravian and other Indians in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War included the distribution of private and public charity and constant attempts to restore peace. During the Revolution, from 1774 to 1783, he published leaflets and pamphlets and interviewed and corresponded with many public men, French, American, and British, in a persistent effort to promote peaceful settlement.

Benezet's work for social betterment of varied kinds and his exemplification of personal virtues qualified him, Mr. Brookes thinks, to be called "the Model Quaker", and his life was doubtless largely responsible for the conception of "the Quaker of the Olden Time" which became popular (and exaggerated) in America, England, and France.

His writings, gathered from far-scattered sources and filling three fifths of this volume, illustrate in striking fashion their author's character and activities and possess high literary excellence and historic importance. If read separately, they are certainly impressive, but it is probable that most readers would have gained more from judicious quotations from them woven into the text of the biography itself. For them and for the biography, however, we are doubly grateful.

Swarthmore College. WILLIAM I. HULL.

The First American Revolution. By JACK HARDY. [A History of the American People Series, RICHARD ENMALE, Editor.] (New York: International Publishers. 1937. Pp. 160. $1.00.)

WITH a view to furnishing "students and workers with a Marxist survey of the first American Revolution" and in order "to preserve the revolutionary traditions of the American people" (Editor's Foreword, p. 11), the American Communist party is sponsoring this book. Neither the author nor the editor, both of whom are pseudonymous, has been associated previously with historical scholarship. The book is in line with the current communist policy of identifying communism with the American past for the purpose of effecting a so-called People's Front in defense of democratic rights against fascism. It should be said at once that the book is interesting only as a curious exercise in the use of history to serve political ends, for there is nothing in it that will attract the student of American history other than, perhaps, its gaucheries in writing and its many naïve errors in fact. Among the more amusing of the latter are the talk of the existence of the "dictatorship of the revolutionary party", the effort to depict Samuel Adams as a veritable Robespierre, and the termination of the recital with the year 1783 instead of 1789. This last is done purposely, for it spares the author and editor the embarrassment of explaining how Washington and Samuel Adams, for example, turned out to be less than "people's" heroes.

The present reviewer, however, is a little less than amused, for he is a leading victim of this enterprise. Not only the title but the basic idea of the book—the inevitability of the Revolutionary crisis of 1763-75—has been lifted from his writings, particularly his essay "The First American Revolution" (*Columbia University Quarterly,* XXVII, Sept., 1935, 259-95). Of course there is no acknowledgment. Nor, in a number of cases, have author and editor bothered to change the phrasing of the reviewer's formulation. A good many examples could be presented to show the identity of key words in the "revised" version and the original version; space, however, suffices for only two:

"HARDY" AND "ENMALE" (p. 13) . . . . the protection of British capital was by far more important than the raising of colonial revenue. The quick repeal of the Stamp and Townshend Acts indicates the validity of this conclusion.

HACKER (p. 290). If in the raising of a colonial revenue lay the heart of the difficulty, how are we to account for the quick repeal of the Stamp Tax and the Townshend Acts . . . ?

"HARDY" AND "ENMALE" (p. 22, n.). In 1705, a Pennsylvania law for building up the shoemaking industry was disallowed; one year later a New York act for developing sail-cloth manufacturing was forbidden. Similarly, in 1756, a Massachusetts ordinance for encouraging the production of linen was declared null and void. In its zeal to protect British manufacturers, the Board of Trade stopped at nothing. In 1706, 1707 and 1708, it went so far

as to reject laws passed by Virginia and Maryland providing for the establishment of new towns on the ground that such new communities must inevitably lead to the founding of industries.

HACKER (pp. 283-84). Thus, in 1705, a Pennsylvania law for building up the shoemaking industry was disallowed. . . . And in 1706, a New York law for developing the sail-cloth industry was disallowed. . . . And in 1756, a Massachusetts law for encouraging the production of linen was disallowed. . . . Nothing was too minute to escape the Board's attention in its zeal to protect English merchant capitalism. So, in 1706, 1707 and 1708, it went so far as to call for the rejection of laws passed in Virginia and Maryland providing for the establishment of new towns, on the grounds that such new communities must invariably lead to a desire to found manufacturing industries.

Columbia University. LOUIS M. HACKER.

The Federalist: A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States, being a Collection of Essays written in Support of the Constitution agreed upon September 17, 1787, by the Federal Convention. From the original text of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JOHN JAY, and JAMES MADISON. With an Introduction by EDWARD MEAD EARLE, Professor of History, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Sesquicentennial Edition. (Washington: National Home Library Foundation. 1937. Pp. xlv, 618. 75 cents.)

A comparison of this volume with some of the publications issued by Mr. Sol Bloom's personally conducted commission for the celebration of the drafting and adoption of the Constitution provides suggestions for thought. This edition of *The Federalist* is the result of private enterprise inspired by interest in the public welfare. Mr. Bloom's works are "official". This costs the taxpayer nothing. Mr. Bloom's undertaking has cost approximately three hundred thousand dollars, and, according to reports, a demand was made for two hundred thousand dollars in addition. Mr. Earle's introduction to *The Federalist* is characterized by gravity in thought and dignity in style. It is the fruit of knowledge and intelligence applied to a consideration of the Constitution. Mr. Bloom's chief treatise on the Constitution is, to put the case mildly, trivial in conception and loose in manner of execution. This edition of our great political classic does honor to the Fathers of the Republic. Mr. Bloom's excursion into idolatry was highly irregular in the beginning and, if newspaper charges are to be believed, has been involved in the kind of politics for which Tammany Hall is justly celebrated. Here, in a new reprint of *The Federalist,* private scholarship and private enterprise. There, in Mr. Bloom's celebration, official thought and public enterprise. The comparison is illuminating.

Mr. Earle's edition follows closely the original McLean text. The table of contents is that prepared for the Lodge edition. A brief biographical note introduces the reader to the three authors. An appendix includes the call

for the federal convention, the Articles of Confederation, the resolution transmitting the Constitution to Congress, Washington's letter of transmittal, and the text of the Constitution, with amendments. The index is taken from the Washington edition of 1831. The type is clear, the paper firm, and the printing excellent. There is no reason why every American citizen should not now possess a copy of *The Federalist.*

In his introduction Mr. Earle pays a just tribute to the merits of the Fathers and concentrates attention on a few essentials: the revolutionary break with the Articles of Confederation, the problem of federalism and nationalism, distrust of democracy, the concern with property rights, and the issue of judicial review. While reminding the reader that *The Federalist* was "avowedly a piece of special pleading", Mr. Earle correctly emphasizes its importance for interpreting the Constitution and for the history and science of politics. On every point he is acquainted with the mandates of scholarship. He even includes a warning against taking at face value the Federalist view of the ill-fated Articles. Yet he wastes no words. His introduction is a model of propriety and is done in muscular English.

New Milford. CHARLES A. BEARD.

Henry Clay, Spokesman of the New West. By BERNARD MAYO. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 570. $4.50.)

The Life of Henry Clay. By GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 448. $4.00.)

FROM the days when Carl Schurz wrote his *Henry Clay* down to 1937, the great Kentuckian lay dormant as a subject for a full-length biography. Now two works have come forth, appearing almost simultaneously, in each of which modern scholarship and interpretation have been given full play and have improved on Schurz. But it might be added in the beginning that neither has changed fundamentally the Clay of history. Each author has used his own method of procedure, and, surprisingly enough, neither has made the other unnecessary.

Professor Mayo has launched by far the more ambitious treatment. Though his volume is unnumbered, it is the first of a trilogy, and only its subtitle, "Spokesman of the New West", saves it from appearing on its face as being a complete study. It brings Clay down only to the declaration of war on Great Britain in 1812. How so much could be written on the first thirty-five years of Clay's life, only fifteen of which were of a public nature, can best be explained by Professor Mayo's biographical methods. The key is evident in his first paragraph, where he presents in one mosaic Burgoyne at Saratoga, Washington at Valley Forge and Howe in Philadelphia, Franklin in Paris, and Jefferson in Virginia—all happening in 1777, the year Clay was born. Throughout the next 525 pages appear not only Clay but his surroundings, economic, social, and otherwise. By this method it is not

necessary for Professor Mayo to put in direct statement much that he wants to convey about Clay. "The Mill Boy of the Slashes", as well as the grown man, logically and clearly steps out of this background. One has a feeling of having trod the roads of Hanover County, of having lived with Clay in Richmond, and of having followed Clay to Kentucky and seen Lexington as Clay saw it.

This method has its dangers, for there is a constant allurement to write a history of a given civilization or a particular movement rather than a biography. Though Professor Mayo saves himself from this charge, he barely does so at times, as when he gives more than two pages to the Great Revival, which did not touch Henry Clay, and when he devotes his last chapter to "Mr. Clay's War", in which Clay appears only incidentally. If the remainder of Clay's life is to be encompassed in only two more volumes, the detailed background will need to be reduced, and the subject himself must stand forth more boldly. It is logical to expect this modified treatment, as Clay will then be a national figure thrown on a national screen, better and more widely known.

From the day Clay reached Kentucky he seemed to sense that he was in a dynamic society whose leadership he was determined to seize. Though liberal in the beginning, to the point of exceeding such outstanding figures as John Breckenridge, he soon found himself in solid alignment with the Kentucky Jeffersonians, and it became necessary only to put to flight the dwindling Federalists led by Humphrey Marshall, and now and then a disturbing Jeffersonian, like Felix Grundy. In the legislature by 1803, he entered the United States Senate in 1807. At first reluctant to swap Kentucky for Washington, he had by 1810 been swept into the national maelstrom, from which he was to be removed only by death. In his determination to lead the nation into war with England, he began the break from the old party moorings, which made him the head of the opposition to the party founded by Jefferson. Professor Mayo gives for this period not a different Clay but an enriched one.

Professor Mayo writes with distinction, apt in his characterizations of men and events, clear in his descriptions, and scholarly throughout. Using secondary material even less than he might have done, he has examined a great mass of primary sources and has thereby given a refreshing and engaging quality to his style. When the three volumes shall have been finished, it seems unlikely that there will be need for so extensive a treatment again.

Within a hundred fewer pages than Professor Mayo used in bringing Clay down to 1812 Professor Van Deusen has encompassed the whole life of the Kentuckian. In eighty-eight pages he disposes of Mayo's Clay. This performance is made possible by a different method of treatment. Clay stands out in almost every paragraph; knowledge of background is largely

assumed, and where given, Professor Van Deusen with clever skill supplies it sufficiently in the fewest possible words. His style is, therefore, direct and critical; it is also clear, flowing, and uninvolved. He declares Madison's attempt to secure West Florida in 1810, which Clay supported, to have been a "barefaced steal" (p. 62), and Clay's speech in 1812 in favor of the army bill "was a strange compound of warlike zeal and arrant nonsense" (p. 80). Professor Van Deusen, however, has written a judicious biography, in which he has for the most part agreed with Clay. He has presented a man who had a deep and fundamental love for his country undivided; who was ambitious for political preferment; who, though loving the applause of the people and generally receiving it, never quite sensed that rampant democracy on which Andrew Jackson rode to power; who, though a commoner in some respects, was a stern defender of entrenched wealth, as seen in his defense of the bank, high land prices, and a protective tariff; who was by nature a compromiser, whether in 1820, in 1850, or in his annexation of Texas stand in 1844; and who, though dogged by financial reverses and saddened repeatedly by deaths in his family circle, was yet a gay participant in many a game of chance around the card table.

Sticking more to Clay than to his times, Van Deusen has made a more restricted use of source materials than has Mayo. He has listed only a fourth as many newspapers, though his manuscript material is equally as extensive. Neither author suffers from a failure to use pertinent documents. For Clay alone and in one volume, Van Deusen is unequalled; for Clay and something more, Mayo must be sought.

University of Georgia. E. Merton Coulter.

Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President. By Marquis James. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1937. Pp. 627. $5.00.)

The first volume of Mr. James's *Andrew Jackson* appeared in 1933 with the subtitle *The Border Captain;* this second volume Mr. James has called *Portrait of a President.* After long experience in the field of journalism the author in this work writes from the viewpoint of the "new" biography, representing its emphasis upon the conception of a biography as a portrait and its insistent stress upon the "human" side of such writing. With regard to all the private, domestic, personal associations of General Jackson Mr. James's book attains a deserved success. His research has been very extensive, his footnotes are enlightening, he has not shrunk from criticism. Moreover, as to those phases of Jackson's political life which have been made familiar by Mr. James's many predecessors, his exposition is always interesting and often illuminating. Particularly thorough is the treatment of the presidential campaigns, the Eaton affair, the spoils system, and the long struggle with Nicholas Biddle. In contrast, one is disappointed to find that Mr. James treats inadequately or omits altogether many of the minor

problems with which Jackson was faced. For example, the veto of the Maysville Road bill is discussed, but that of Clay's land distribution bill is neglected. The insurgency of Hugh Lawson White in Jackson's own state is mentioned but hardly explained, and the name of John Bell does not appear.

The later chapters cover the period of Jackson's retirement at the Hermitage and close with a highly dramatized account of his death. Mr. James gives ample, perhaps too ample, detail as to Jackson's indomitable courage despite his illness. The interest of the former President in Texas is made the principal theme for these years, but on this subject Mr. James's touch is not so firm as in the earlier portion of the book. Throughout these years, moreover, Jackson's own letters afford one illustration after another of the amazing breadth and keenness of mind with which the old man grasped what was going on. As examples may be cited his expression of regret, uttered when he was commenting on the Webster-Ashburton treaty, that he had yielded against his judgment to the wishes of his cabinet in 1831 at the time of the award by the king of the Netherlands concerning the New England boundary; his exposition of democratic principles written upon the occasion of the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island; and his caustic denunciation of the defeat by the Senate of Henry Wheaton's Zollverein treaty. These little touches Mr. James's portrait lacks.

Among the many illustrations which adorn this book is a photographic reproduction of the Healy portrait of "The Dying Chieftain", which is accompanied with the statement that "a dropsical swelling having spread to Jackson's face, only the eyes, the right one blind, the forehead and the hair were painted from life. The remainder was adapted from a portrait by Earl". Reflection upon this use of his brush by the painter may suggest to the philosophical reader of Mr. James's literary portrait some misgivings as to too great emphasis upon the element of portraiture in biography.

The University of Pennsylvania. ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man. By CHARLES WINSLOW ELLIOTT, Major, United States Army, Retired. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xviii, 817. $5.00.)

Old Fuss and Feathers: The Life and Exploits of Lt.-General Winfield Scott. By ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH. (New York: Greystone Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 386. $4.00.)

MR. Howden Smith justly disclaims any pretense to having said "the last word" about Winfield Scott. He adds: "There is a rich field awaiting the exploration of the political or military expert." This rich field Major Elliott has diligently ploughed, and the result, which follows Mr. Smith's volume from the press by a few months, may with some confidence be described as a definitive biography. Major Elliott has utilized widely scat-

tered manuscript collections, nearly forty newspapers, numerous weekly and monthly periodicals, and most, certainly, of the printed material, both primary and secondary, which could be expected to throw light on his subject. From these voluminous materials he has constructed a well-organized narrative—objective, eminently fair, and touched with a sense of humor indispensable for the treatment of a personage so vain, so egotistical, yet in the main so lovable and so extremely capable in his field as "Old Fuss and Feathers". Much space is necessarily given to the military campaigns of 1812-14 and 1846-48—the author's high estimate of Scott's military achievements will be accepted with little dissent—but there are ample chapters on Scott's varied and in some cases important peace-time activities—his unfortunate quarrels with brother officers and secretaries of war, his several well-conducted semidiplomatic missions, and his inept ventures into politics. Possibly an author better versed in psychology than Major Elliott could explain why the man who was almost continually in hot water with his professional colleagues, though ever ready to forgive and forget at the first friendly gesture from the other side, invariably displayed consummate tact and good humor when sent to conciliate angry border quarrels. Scott's faults are not spared. His passion for regalia, his delight in fine foods, his "touchiness", above all his propensity for saying the wrong thing when he took pen in hand—these figure prominently throughout the book. Yet they are properly subordinated to those qualities which made Scott a great soldier and a useful citizen, much ridiculed upon occasion yet probably more revered by his countrymen than any other military hero save two or three.

Major Elliott's biography is not entirely free from error. Had he been thoroughly familiar with the seat of war in 1812 and 1813, he would not have suggested (p. 69) that Van Rensselaer's boats at Schlosser "might have been floated down to Lewiston at night" (over Niagara Falls!) or have stated (p. 133) that Hampton's expedition crossed the St. Lawrence River. Both he and Smith (pp. 41 and 33 respectively) are misled by Scott's *Memoirs* into referring to the British minister in 1812 as Mr. Mansfield. (Foster was the minister, and the Department of State has no record of any Mansfield attached to either the British legation or consular service.) Frelinghuysen, not Fessenden, was Henry Clay's running-mate in 1844 (p. 408), and the editor of the *New York Times* was Henry J. (not William J.) Raymond (p. 621). But such errors are few, and in the other scale Major Elliott (p. 654) has corrected previous writers, including the author of the sketch in the *D.A.B.*, as to the date when Scott received his commmission as lieutenant general.

Mr. Arthur D. Howden Smith has consulted "five hundred or more sources, some of them very obscure" (p. vii) but does not provide the reader with either bibliography or footnotes. Such omission, however much it may annoy the scholar, is not in itself reprehensible in a popular biography,

but in this case one suspects a connection between the omission and a carelessness which permits such elementary errors as the following: David Robertson appears as David Robinson, General James Wilkinson as William Wilkinson, Secretary of War John Armstrong as James Armstrong, General Jacob Brown as Moses Brown (pp. 13, 15, 38, 103). The Niagara frontier is said to have been "drenched in blood . . . of American soldiers who marched with Montgomery and Arnold in the Revolution" (p. 46). It is stated (p. 8) that Scott "was never called upon to give or receive a challenge" to a duel, whereas Elliott shows (pp. 34, 223, 225, 228, 230, 381) that he fought one duel, was challenged by Andrew Jackson, and himself issued challenges on at least four occasions. Mr. Smith even misstates (p. 257) the circumstances of the celebrated "hasty plate of soup" letter. The reader of Mr. Smith's biography will acquire a fair idea of Scott's personality and services to his country, but on collateral matters and on not a few pertaining directly to Scott himself he will be exposed to a surprising amount of misinformation.

University of Buffalo. JULIUS W. PRATT.

Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi—The Water Way to Iowa: Some River History. By WM. J. PETERSEN. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1937. Pp. 575. $3.50.)

INTEREST in steamboating on the upper Mississippi has hitherto been overshadowed by the picturesque features of river life south of St. Louis. When the first steamboat paddled its way north from that port to Franklin and Chariton, Missouri, in 1819, there were only a few scattered settlements and forts in the territory bordering the Mississippi upstream. The following years saw the filling in of a large area and the corresponding expansion of many prosperous steamboat enterprises. Dr. Petersen presents a series of forty-eight short and somewhat disconnected sketches chronicling the discovery of the upper reaches of the Mississippi River, the first use of a steamboat on the Ohio River, and the history of the traffic on the upper Mississippi. The three stimuli which before the Civil War attracted the steamboats farther north and onto the tributaries of the great river were those arising from the Indians, the military frontier, and the fur trade: delivery of annuities, transportation of delegations to treaty grounds, and removal of tribes farther west; transportation of provisions and supplies and the moving of troops in both war and peace; and freighting for the fur traders. The lead mines in the Galena region were a constant source of revenue, particularly between 1823 and 1848; during the period 1850-70, however, the transportation of immigrants and visitors making the "grand tour" dominated the financial return. With the decade of the seventies came the railroad to Minnesota, which caused a sharp falling off in the passenger traffic; from that time on steamboating steadily declined in importance. In addition to

a discussion of these factors that deal with the practical aspects of river business, the volume contains a wealth of material not only on the various boats, their cargoes and their captains, but also much information on the progress of settlement from the early Fever River group up the Mississippi and its tributaries and even including the Selkirk colony and the Red River trade.

No continuous narrative is presented, and the subtitle, "Some River History", is a more real indication of the contents than the main title. The historical view of the Mississippi is decidedly kaleidoscopic. However, the scholarship upon which it is based is of a most solid kind; its sources are drawn from a group of hitherto unused materials found in the files of newspapers of the river towns, records of steamboat companies, the archives of obscure governmental agencies, and contemporary travels. The format and printing of the book are unusually attractive, and no errors mar the reader's pleasure.

University of Illinois. MARCUS L. HANSEN.

Francis H. Pierpont, Union War Governor of Virginia and Father of West Virginia. By CHARLES H. AMBLER, Professor of History, West Virginia University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xiii, 483. $5.00.)

THE movement of western Virginia to separate from Old Virginia illustrates, in a remarkable manner, the dual character of the American government and the confusions that arose from it. In April, 1861, when the Virginia convention passed the ordinance of secession, many of the politicians of the western mountains, while they opposed the movement as illegal, actually rather welcomed it. They had long complained that the trans-Allegheny section did not receive full justice at the hands of the east, though there seems to have been little legitimate ground for discontent. The main trouble appears to have been that the eastern politicians held the principal offices, state and federal, and that the westerners had little chance of securing them.

Secession was followed by the holding of the first and second Wheeling conventions, under Pennsylvania influence. The convention took the step of establishing what it called a legitimate state government, on the ground that the state government in Richmond no longer existed legally because of secession. It also proceeded to elect as governor of the "Restored Government" a long-time malcontent, Francis H. Pierpont, small lawyer, small manufacturer, and political aspirant.

If the so-called "Restored Government" had stopped at this point, it would have been in a logical position as the Union government of Virginia in contradistinction to the Confederate government. But it did not stop

here, because separation was really the motive behind the movement. The delegates to the convention gave consent to the establishment of their own part of the state as the state of West Virginia. The hard-pressed government in Washington gladly recognized the legality of a movement that hampered the Confederates, and in 1863 West Virginia was accepted, not without protests, as an addition to the family of states.

The Pierpont government was now in somewhat of a quandary. As Pierpont was the so-called governor of Virginia he could not at the same time become the governor of West Virginia. Senators had been elected from the "Restored Government" to replace Mason and Hunter, resigned. Pierpont had to have some little territory to make good the claim that Virginia had given consent to the formation of West Virginia—otherwise palpably untrue—and so he established a rump government at Alexandria, which was in Union possession.

However, when Pierpont attempted to send members to Congress from Alexandria he was roughly denied. The Union authorities barely tolerated his establishment until the end of hostilities in 1865. Then Pierpont became a political asset to President Johnson, who wished to set up state governments in the South under some show of legality. Pierpont, in Richmond, did not prosper and was rather rudely ejected from the governorship in 1868 by the general commanding Military District Number One. His subsequent career was unimportant.

Professor Ambler has written a book that shows thorough research and is very readable besides. If he has taken the West Virginia side of the controversy in entirety, it is not to be wondered at. He is proud of the state that he adorns with his fine scholarship. As a Virginian I cannot agree with many of his conclusions. But in war, law is what the successful side establishes.

Virginia Conservation Commission. H. J. Eckenrode.

The Civil War and Reconstruction. By J. G. Randall. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 959. $5.00.)

For more than seventy years accounts of the Civil War and attendant problems have poured from the press. That such literature has attained enormous proportions is attested by the fact that Professor Randall devotes some forty pages to bibliography and then confesses that it is far from complete. Commenting on the quality of these outpourings, he says: "Up to recent times the bulk of writing in the field has been superficial, traditionally narrow, and partisan", but latterly "on many a scholarly front the boundary of research has been extended; what is more significant is that there have come upon the historical world a fresh interpretive power, a new insight, a greater resourcefulness, a growing appreciation of human factors,

an understanding of social and economic forces, and a sharpened sophistication in facing timeworn assumptions, which have given to historical writing a new tone and a new orientation" (p. v). Although Professor Randall is tolerant of and even welcomes determinist interpretations, as for himself he chooses "to record the event, not indeed without interpretation, but without committing himself to a particular formula of determinism, or, indeed, to any hypothesis" (p. vii).

Within such limitations Dr. Randall has written a calm, dispassionate, and judicial account of the Civil War and its antecedents. To this part of the work the author devotes twenty-nine of his thirty-seven chapters. Of these the first three are descriptive of the Old South, slavery, and the "Yankee World". With the fourth chapter sectional conflict commences along the economic and political fronts and continues through six more chapters. Actual fighting begins in the tenth chapter and continues through the eleventh, ending in January, 1863, with Burnside stuck in the mud on the Rappahannock. Leaving the bewhiskered general in this uncomfortable position, Dr. Randall regales his readers with a ten-chapter discussion of such topics as problems of the Confederacy, raising and administering armies, financing the war, rival diplomatic jockeying for position in England and France, wartime weakening of slavery and its nominal abolition by President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

This brings us back into January, 1863. From Rappahannock mud and executive emancipation we are taken off to Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and the eastern and western campaigns of 1864. These momentous events require three chapters. In the next four chapters we are given a view of wartime politics, peace movements, the North at work, play, and profiteering. We see the Southern diplomacy, arms, and morale gradually failing and are prepared for the last sad scenes at Appomattox and Hillsboro. Although we have been well entertained and instructed, we would welcome the end of the book since we have already read 688 pages, and a great theme has been presented in an excellent way.

Dr. Randall's last eight chapters on Reconstruction constitute a sort of epilogue to the other twenty-nine. In them there is very little that is new in fact or interpretation. They detract from the unity of the book. In them the author seems to lose something of the fine objectivity which characterizes the earlier chapters on the Civil War. In his preface he had mentioned "a merciful wish to spare the reader". It was a good impulse. Had he not inhibited it, it might be said with justice that here we have a definitive one-volume account of the Civil War. It cannot fairly be said that it is a definitive account of Reconstruction.

B. B. Kendrick.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900. By PAUL H. BUCK, Assistant Professor of History at Harvard University. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 320. $3.25.)

IN tracing the process of reunion between the North and the South after the Civil War Dr. Buck is dealing with the reconciliation of two great peoples, alienated by decades of strife and by four years of actual war. It is a development that history can hardly match, and it warrants the attention of historian and philosopher. Although some unfamiliar sources are cited, the author's contribution does not lie in the bringing to light unused material or unmarked events but instead in the working out of the whole book from the point of view of that reunion—stressing the reality of reconciliation rather than the passing phase of estrangement. From that point of view he describes the shifting of Northern political and economic self-interest, changes in the social background of each section, and the rise in each section of a new generation to carry on the business life of the country, assume its own political and economic obligations, create a new literary and intellectual tradition, and in 1898 stand shoulder to shoulder in another war. Now that we see what Dr. Buck has done, this becomes the obvious way to treat the period.

The book is refreshing in conception and execution. The literary management, however, is uneven. Some passages are written with arresting clarity and great charm. Other parts are involved and dull in spite of the interest of the material, and at times infelicities convey a false impression of fact. This reader was grateful to have the footnotes placed at the bottom of each page so that none of the pleasure of watching the new and illuminating use of old material was lost.

It may seem ungracious to disagree with the writer of a book which is on the whole so good as this about the assumptions of which he is himself hardly aware, but it is impossible entirely to overlook the long list of things that Dr. Buck might have reported otherwise if he had read his sources in a different spirit and perhaps used a few different sources. Certainly there is every evidence that he regards himself as impartial, and there is no evidence whatever of any conscious antagonism or bias. Yet these assumptions, which possibly underlie the whole thinking of his section, are evident in the fact that, though he spares space to discuss the sufferings of Northern prisoners (pp. 45-48) and the bitterness of Southern women (pp. 38-42), he evidently never feels the necessity of acknowledging the basis for bitterness in the actual atrocities committed by Northern soldiers. He remarks that in the South "Sherman's march was never mentioned except in terms of denunciation" (p. 244), with no apparent realization that there are some Northerners who think that the only other possible way to speak of the realities of that march is with sorrow and shame. With a different reading of sources he might have regarded the Northern course of conduct after

the war as less inevitable and Southern "nationalism" before the war and Southern unanimity during the war as less complete. He might even have hesitated to describe the Northern attitude toward the Negro as "committed . . . to securing justice for the inferior race" (p. 283) or to speak positively of Charles Sumner as "idealistically or at least unselfishly motivated" (p. 88). Moreover he might have modified his statement that the tragic war generation, dying, "left a heritage of complete adjustment" (p. 307), if he had noted with thoughtful attention such contemporary evidence as the bilateral acrimony of the recent Congressional debate on a federal antilynching law. It is, this reviewer thinks, historically unsound to overestimate both the width of the breach between the sections and the totality of the reconciliation which is in this book so ably chronicled.

Social Education. KATHARINE ELIZABETH CRANE.

Jay Cooke, Private Banker. By HENRIETTA M. LARSON, Associate in Research in Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. [Harvard Studies in Business History, II, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. xvii, 512. $5.00.)

THIS scholarly reappraisal of the career of Jay Cooke is admirably designed to shift the emphasis of historical interest from his exploits as "Financier of the Civil War" to his pioneering activities in the development of modern American investment banking. A striking feature of other studies in this series has been the extensive reproduction of documentary sources, but the vast number of letters, memoranda, and broadsides printed by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer in his monumental two-volume biography of Jay Cooke, published in 1907, has made it unnecessary for Miss Larson to include very much source material. Her text is closely knit and compact. Her style is clear and readable—surprisingly so in view of the technical details that she evaluates.

Miss Larson greatly enriches our knowledge of the factors and circumstances which conditioned the expansion of exchange-brokerage and investment banking between the panics of 1837 and 1873. Jay Cooke received valuable training and developed a broad outlook, first as a clerk and later as a partner (1843-57) in E. W. Clark & Co. of Philadelphia, which, with affiliated Clark houses of variant names in half a dozen cities, became a national organization connecting the commerce and wealth of leading Eastern centers with widespread trade and investment opportunities in the newer West. The Clark firms performed lucrative functions of handling exchanges of the notes of scattered local state banks and arranging the purchase, sale, and transfer of all kinds of funds throughout the United States. They likewise floated issues of federal, state, municipal, and railroad bonds, and purchased and sold Western lands and land warrants. The Clark sys-

tem of banks collapsed in the panic of 1857, and, although most of the local houses were subsequently reorganized and reopened, "the chain or branch feature of the Clark organization disappeared". Jay Cooke managed to salvage "a fair fortune" from the wreck and by sundry ventures in transportation finance (1858-60) replaced in some measure the property he had lost.

In the financial maelstrom which accompanied the Civil War Jay Cooke found full scope for his genius. On January 1, 1861, in conjunction with his brother-in-law, William Moorhead, he established the firm of Jay Cooke & Co. in Philadelphia. Cooke then owned property which he valued at about $150,000, while Moorhead possessed perhaps half a million, but the actual cash capital at their disposal was the astonishingly small sum of five or ten thousand dollars. "Other People's Money", especially Uncle Sam's, provided the working capital. With the astute lobbying aid of his brother, Henry D. Cooke, whom he made a partner in his new Washington branch in February, 1862, Jay Cooke became the outstanding fiscal agent of the Treasury Department. Though fervently patriotic, he had no intention of serving as "a dollar a year man". "We can do the work, but we must be careful not to work for *honor* alone", he warned his brother in March, 1862. Utilizing to the full the mechanical agencies of telegraphs, railroads, and printing presses, Cooke welded an army of agents and subagents into a bond-selling organization of unrivaled efficiency, scoring outstanding successes in marketing five-twenty bonds (1862-64) and seven-thirty treasury notes (1865).

"With these loans", writes Miss Larson (pp. 174-75), "security distribution in America entered its modern phase. The old system of selling small issues through bankers who reached only a relatively small number of investors had proved inadequate. In its place came large-scale, high-pressure selling through an aggressive sales force which reached down into the savings of even the laborer and the farmer and which was supported by a measure of control on the price of government securities on the New York market." From 1861 to 1865 the Cooke firms netted total profits of $1,681,572.31, a tidy sum indeed but "far short of the amount which the political critics of Jay Cooke claimed he had made from his handling of the war loans" (p. 177).

Cooke emerged from the Civil War as a veritable tycoon, pre-eminent in prestige and power among the investment bankers of America. Eight years later his power was broken and his prestige destroyed. The complex developments which produced this denouement are objectively analyzed and brilliantly recounted by Miss Larson.

Jay Cooke did not precisely fit the traditional pattern of Calvinistic capitalists—"thrifty God-fearing men who kept the Sabbath and everything else they could get their hands on". True enough, he was a rigid

Sabbatarian who "continued to the end of his days in his simple Christian faith" (p. 426). But he was not thrifty. As a young clerk, "he liked to have money in his pocket in order to spend it" (p. 46). As a banking magnate he lived luxuriously, entertained lavishly, and religiously tithed his firms' income for charitable expenditures. Nevertheless, the money touch never entirely deserted him. Even after the great catastrophe of 1873 he proved shrewd enough to accumulate a more than comfortable fortune.

Miss Larson's book represents a happy combination of laborious research and luminous exposition; and her able account of Cooke's career is fraught with meaning to the present generation. It should be widely read and deeply pondered.

New York University. JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

History of the State of New York. Edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK, State Historian. Volume X, *The Empire State.* [The New York State Historical Association.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 484. $5.00.)

WITH this volume comes the conclusion of a notable enterprise. Dr. Flick and his able assistants have given the public a more comprehensive view of the development of this state than has hitherto been attempted. This is not to disparage the able and conscientious work of earlier writers—Alexander, Hammond, Lincoln, and others—but merely to emphasize the fact that the *History of the State of New York* has made full use of the opportunity to cultivate neglected areas and to include the story of economic, social, religious, and cultural advances. So inclusive indeed has been the plan that the volume under review presents chapters on sports and recreation and on scenic and historic possessions. These topics might be thought to belong to a guidebook, but in the hands of capable scholars, Professor John A. Krout of Columbia University and Mr. Edward Porter Alexander, Director of the New York Historical Association, they are shown to have an interesting historical development. Significant chapters in this final volume deal with special areas of the State. Jacqueline Overton, Charles W. Leng, and William T. Davis have written on Long Island and Staten Island since the Revolution while Richard B. Morris presents a brief history of the metropolis.

Having in view the widespread interest in industry and labor at the present time, it is safe to say that the first three chapters in the volume will be regarded as an outstanding sequence. The first two, by Louis M. Hacker, are concerned with the beginnings of industrial enterprise after the Civil War and with the maturing of industry. The third chapter is a history of labor in New York State by Leo Wolman. The editor asserts in the foreword that these contributions "complete the fullest general account yet written on the economic history of this commonwealth". Insofar as

industry and labor are concerned this is unquestionably correct. These three chapters, dealing with important topics in the state where their history is particularly significant, constitute final evidence of the wisdom of the undertaking now brought to a close. Few states, if any, offer the historian greater opportunities. Dr. Flick and his fellow workers have not only told a great story, but incidentally they have invited attention to many opportunities for further scholarly endeavor.

Cornell University. J. P. BRETZ.

The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-18. By ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 270. $3.00.)

"CECY, lecteur, est un livre de bonne foy." These words, with which Montaigne, I believe, prefaced one of his books, may well be applied to Miss Armstrong's work, in which French-Canadians and their reaction to certain events are described with impartiality and, if not altogether with sympathy, at least with indulgence. The prominent part played in their reaction in 1914-18 by the enforcement, in Ontario, of "Regulation XVII" (which, by the way, went much further than the first form in the elementary schools, as the author says) is accurately and adequately explained. So also is the stupidity—unless it was malice prepense—on the part of the directors of the recruiting campaign when they put a Methodist minister in charge of propaganda among French-Canadians. The way some French-Canadian officers were treated is also aptly recounted. Miss Armstrong does not look so closely into the question of the isolation of Quebec after the elections of 1917. Was it merely a fact, as she casually states, or "a consummation devoutly to be wished" on the part of the enemies of Quebec? She quotes the *Mail and Empire* and mentions the *Manitoba Free Press* without comment.

Miss Armstrong has spared no pains to get at the truth. She has read with admirable patience not only the leading newspapers, English and French, but also the French rural press, the evolution of which, during the war, was certainly significant. She has also consulted a number of prominent Canadians of all shades of politics, with one single exception—that small and now practically extinct phalanx of French-Canadians whom some at the time nicknamed the "win the war". Likewise, in the extensive bibliography at the end of the book the most important publication of a French Canadian, *L'Angleterre, le Canada et la grande guerre,* 1917 (*England, Canada and the Great War,* 1918) by Lt. Col. L. G. Desjardins, is conspicuous by its absence.

As I belonged to that much maligned handful of men, forgotten immediately after the war and totally ignored by the Conservative administration of 1930-35, I cannot see eye to eye with Miss Armstrong on every point. To my mind, her position is like that of a writer who, attempting

to describe the events leading to Caesar's murder, would leave Cassius in the background, because the latter hated the tyrant more than he did tyranny.

The history of Canadian nationalism, not as a state of mind but as a political credo, has had, so far, three important periods. The first was at the time of the Boer war, when three Liberal members of parliament declared themselves against all participation; the second was around 1910, when the "marine Laurier" was assailed with a measure of success. The third period is not what Miss Armstrong calls "The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-18": that was the work of a coalition, in which the Nationalist party played the most conspicuous but by no means the most effective part. The third period began just a few years ago. Out of a clear sky, without any important event provoking such a radical step, we have seen, in the last few years, the appearance of two separatist newspapers, which have, so far, managed to live. Moreover, Abbé Groulx, who, at the period described by Miss Armstrong, was already *en évidence,* but who, since then, has been held up to admiration by Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec, took advantage of a monster meeting in Quebec last June to advocate separation, to the thunderous applause of thousands of listeners. That the cardinal and other church dignitaries tried to attenuate the effect of his words, makes little difference. The last word has not been said on the subject.

If a second edition of this book is published, as I hope it will be, Miss Armstrong will do well to add an epilogue, which is lacking at present. She might also, by interviewing some of those with whom I was associated—if there are any of them left who can or will speak—see in a different light some of the events which she has recorded. So far, she has written history not as I saw it acted but as posterity will probably read it. And perhaps it is better that it should be so.

Montreal. E. Fabre-Surveyer.

Neutrality for the United States. By Edwin Borchard and William Potter Lage. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 380. $3.50.)

There is no doubt that the majority of the American people would like to keep out of war. The only question at issue is what are the best devices to attain that end. There are some who believe that the safest and sanest foreign policy is to follow the advice of George Washington and refrain from intervention in European affairs. On the other hand, there is another group who hold that the legal conception of neutrality is, in the words of President Wilson, "no longer possible or desirable when the peace of the world and the liberty of peoples is at stake". They believe that it is the duty of the United States to co-operate with other "peace-loving" nations in "enforcing peace" by discriminating between nations that are the aggres-

sors and the victims of aggression. There is still a third school of thought which wishes to insulate the United States against foreign wars by the enactment of mandatory legislation prohibiting all possible contacts by Americans with nations at war.

The present volume is an excellent exposition of the views held by the advocates of the traditional American foreign policy. The authors trace the historical evolution of the rules of international law and, in particular, the rights and duties of neutrals. They contend that the rights and duties of neutrals were clearly defined in 1914. They have little difficulty in proving that the conduct of the American government between 1914 and 1917 was not neutral, either in thought or in action. There is general agreement today that Ambassador Page was "actually playing the game of the British" and that Colonel House grew increasingly more sympathetic toward the Allies. It is also agreed that President Wilson ceased "to be neutral in thought" during our period of neutrality. The pro-Ally sympathies of Secretary Lansing are well known, while in perspective "Mr. Bryan looms larger as a statesman and a prophet". No one will deny that our unneutrality began when the United States gave way on the Declaration of London. The record of these negotiations clearly reveals the solicitude of the President and his principal advisers, Lansing and Colonel House, to avoid a clash with Great Britain. But what else could the United States do except to threaten to go to war or to retaliate with an embargo? The latter was our best bargaining asset, but we had thrown it away when the government sanctioned the munitions traffic, a fact which the authors mention but do not emphasize. There is a detailed and illuminating account of the insistence of the Wilson administration on the right of Americans to travel with immunity, even on British armed ships. The American proposal of a so-called *modus vivendi* on armed belligerent merchantmen still remains one of the unexplained crises of the war. The authors intimate that the *modus vivendi* was dropped because Colonel House convinced the President that it would spoil his peace plans initiated by the Colonel, although the British had given no indication of accepting them. Was the proposal dropped because, as Bernstorff says, the President knew he could not carry it out "without prejudicing the interests of American Commerce"?

The authors are very critical of the postwar efforts of those who advocate the enforcement of peace by means of "sanctions", the Kellogg-Briand Pact, consultative pacts, or by granting to the President a wide discretionary power to embargo commodities in time of war. They acknowledge that there is no improvised formula that will insure peace and at the same time maintain national dignity. They believe that the road to peace for the United States can best be achieved by announcing our intention of remaining aloof from foreign conflict, by refusing to be stampeded by unneutral propaganda, by understanding the rules of international law and insisting

upon their recognition, and by meeting "emergencies and problems not romantically but wisely". Any nation that could live up to these specifications would undoubtedly keep out of war, but such a performance would entail heroic efforts upon the part not only of the government but also of its citizens.

All those who are anxious to keep this country out of war, and especially those directly entrusted with the formulation of American foreign policy, will find in this volume much valuable information on the past and present obstacles to maintaining American neutrality.

University of Cincinnati. REGINALD C. MCGRANE.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

A Manual of Archive Administration. By HILARY JENKINSON. [New and Revised Edition.] (London, Percy Lund, Humphries; New York, H. W. Wilson, 1937, pp. xvi, 256, $3.25.) Fifteen years ago, in reviewing more fully the first edition of this manual (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 524), the present reviewer said: "Such a work in English has been a need, and the American archivist could set himself no more useful undertaking than the making of an intimate summary of this volume, in all matters that are applicable and adjustable to the nature of American archives." The American archivist is again advised to *study* this book, for in this second edition there is added wisdom. Jenkinson cites the unparalleled spread and advance both in Europe and America of efforts for the better control and maintenance of archives and the progress made in evolving "a new technique in more than one department of the work". This is evident in legislation for archives, construction of new buildings or reconstruction of old ones on new principles, "the re-integration of ancient *fonds* long dismembered", the enlarging of the archivist's field of endeavor, in archival publications, "technical research in regard to the materials and conservation of documents", the methods of education of archivists, and the providing of public archival exhibitions. Of the progress of fifteen years he says: "Perhaps the most striking milestone in the progress of archive work in recent years, from a national point of view, is the triumphant institution, after more than fifty years of struggle, of a National Archives of the United States Government, its organization upon lines which profit by the trial and error of a century in Europe, and its establishment in a building which must be the object of envy to every archivist under older dispensations."

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Writings on British History, 1934. Compiled by ALEXANDER TAYLOR MILNE. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1937, pp. 427, 12*s.* 6*d.*) Students of British history have long felt the need of exhaustive annual bibliographies similar to *Jahresberichte für deutsche Geschichte*, which has appeared under various titles since 1878, and *Writings on American History*, which has been published annually since 1906. The present volume is the first of a projected annual series, sponsored by the Royal Historical Society and made possible by a bequest of the late Sir George Prothero. It covers all periods of British history from Anglo-Saxon times to 1914 and contains, in an appendix, a select list of publications in 1934 on British history since 1914. It does not include the domestic history of the British Dominions and colonies except where this directly concerns the mother country, and certain aspects of the history of science, literature, and the arts have been omitted. It is divided into two parts. The first includes the following sections: auxiliary sciences; bibliographies and indexes; archives and collections; historiography, study, and teaching; British history in general; English local history and topography; Wales; Scotland; Ireland; genealogy and family history; and collected biography. The second part, which is approximately twice as long, is divided into periods, beginning with the pre-Conquest period (c. 450-1066) and ending with 1815-

1914. There are appended to the relevant entries reviews of books which have been published in the following periodicals: *American Historical Review, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Economic History Review, English Historical Review, History, Journal of Modern History, Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Revue historique, Speculum,* and *Times Literary Supplement.* Subjects and authors are combined in an eighty-odd page index. The series which this volume happily inaugurates will prove an indispensable tool in the prosecution of studies in British history.

A Dictionary of British History. Edited by J. A. BRENDON. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. vii, 603, $5.00.) This convenient and, as far as it has been tested, reliable compendium seems to be on the whole well adapted to the needs of the general reader, for whose benefit primarily it was designed, provided that the general reader's interest in British history is confined pretty strictly to matters political (including military, naval, and diplomatic) and geographical. Science, technology, philosophy, art, and literature, except where their exponents have taken part in or been closely related to public life, seem to lie outside the realm of history as conceived by the editor. Francis Bacon is included but not Sir Isaac Newton (though the latter might possibly have qualified by his services at the mint), John Locke but not Bishop Berkeley, Macaulay but not Gibbon, Milton but not Shakespeare. It is more difficult to perceive what principle of selection explains the presence of Addison and the absence of Steele; and with regard to Americans of the Revolutionary period, who were British subjects by birth, it would seem impossible to account for the omission of Hamilton and Jefferson, when Washington and Franklin are included, except as an editorial oversight. Mr. Brendon reminds us that "inevitable sins of omission make all dictionaries and anthologies easy game to the critic", but there are limits to inevitability. In the main, however, and subject to the qualifications indicated, this is a useful book of ready reference.

History of Political Philosophy from Plato to Burke. By THOMAS I. COOK. [Prentice-Hall Political Science Series.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1936, pp. xviii, 725, $4.00.) If this textbook fully carried out the promise of its preface to excise all "use of learned or literary allusion" from the discussion of political philosophy, it would be open to far more censure than it is. The book itself is much better than such statements in the preface would indicate and, fortunately, much less revolutionary or exceptional in method than its prospectus would lead one to expect. It is in the main a careful analysis of the chief writings about the state in Europe, from Plato to Burke, drawn from an extensive knowledge of these writings, evidently at firsthand. It cannot be said to differ very markedly from other good textbooks on this subject. It neither suffers from a comparison with most of them nor adds very materially to what they present. The discussion is measured and usually convincing, and the positive errors seem to be very few. One occurs on page 471, where the *Defensio regia pro Carolo Primo* is attributed to Milton. C. H. MCILWAIN.

Commerce and Society: A Short History of Trade and its Effect on Civilization. By W. F. OAKESHOTT. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. xii, 418, $3.00.) The title, broad as it is, fails to indicate the range of the author's purpose. "Commerce" is not at all literally defined. Thus the sections on "the industrial and mechanical revolution", which form almost a fifth of the volume, describe outstanding changes and their social effects more or less after the usual manner of a general text as distinguished from a treatise on com-

mercial history. The author in his preface thinks it necessary for his purpose to emphasize "the comprehensiveness of history", and he proposes, therefore, to describe economic life as a part of civilization and to explain the interrelation of the main aspects of civilization. His ultimate aim is to aid in bringing education "into touch with contemporary social and economic problems". To Americans familiar with attempts of a similar nature in this country the book in this respect is hardly an innovation. But many will note with special interest at least two features. One is the use of pictographs and other recent devices of graphic presentation. Another is the author's frank recognition that the pivotal problem of contemporary civilization is the problem of economic control for the adequate employment of labor and other available resources of production. It is fair to ask whether the author has succeeded in the difficult process of selection and analysis required by his avowal of purposes so bold and admirable. Success of course is relative. There is no rigorous adherence to the principle of selection and analysis mentioned in the preface. Often when the choice of data seems to be arbitrarily determined, it is probably affected by the author's varying familiarity with the fields covered. This, however, is not without advantages, for it aids the author in avoiding on the one hand a formal compilation of mere facts and on the other hand a shallow series of mere generalizations. Somehow the skeleton has been given vitality. WITT BOWDEN.

Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization. By ALFONS DOPSCH. Translated by M. G. Beard and Nadine Marshall. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, pp. xiv, 404, $5.00.) This translation of Dopsch's *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der Europäischen Kulturentwicklung* has been made from a condensed version, by Erna Patzelt, of the second German edition, that of 1923-24.

Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Vereins für Geographie und Statistik zu Frankfurt am Main. Edited by WOLFGANG HARTKE. (Frankfurt am Main, Verlag der geographischen Verlagsanstalt, 1936, pp. xii, 438.) The *Geographische Verein* was established in Frankfurt am Main on December 9, 1836, in order to popularize the results of the young science of geography. It is the fourth oldest geographical society in the world, having been founded shortly after those of Paris, Berlin, and London. The Frankfurt society, from its very inception, also fostered the study of statistics, and in 1854 its name was changed to *Verein für Geographie und Statistik*. In celebration of its hundredth anniversary it has published this jubilee volume containing numerous articles inspired by the present activities of its members. The studies cover a wide range of problems and fields, with particular emphasis on the application of statistical methods to geography. The volume as a whole arouses admiration for the industry and catholicity of the Verein rather than interest in the analysis or presentation of the material. JOSEF SOUDEK.

Fünf Aufsätze zur Philosophie der Natur und Geschichte. By WLADIMIR KÖPPEN. (Vienna, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1936, pp. 64.) This consists of five essays by the well-known meteorologist and former professor of the University of Gratz. The last essay is of particular interest to the historian, for in it the author attempts to show that social revolutions occur at regular intervals.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth Series. Volume XX. (London, the Society, 1937, pp. 284.) In addition to the presidential address by Professor F. M. Powicke this volume contains papers which were read before

the society on the following subjects: Bismarck and England in the earlier period of his career, by V. Valentin; the manning of the navy in the West Indies, 1702-63, by R. Pares; the Duke of Mar in exile, 1716-32, by Maurice Bruce; the East India Company "Interest" and the English government, 1783-84, by C. H. Philips; Ranulf de Gernons, earl of Chester, 1129-53, by H. A. Cronne; Richard de Bury, 1287-1345, by N. Denholm-Young; and a chronology of labor services, by M. Postan.

Historical Records and Studies. Volume XXVII. Edited by THOMAS F. MEEHAN. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1937, pp. 263, $5.00.) The offerings of this volume merit more than passing attention, yet their very variety permits but the briefest mention in the space allotted to this notice. Father Feeney's paper, "A Neglected Chapter of Catholic History: Our Poets", will delight the social historian who appreciates literary quality in historical composition and will stimulate the thoughtful reader interested in social phenomena which may have fostered or stifled the flowering of a culture. "The United States Catholic Press Exhibit at Vatican City, 1936" is a valuable survey of Catholic press activities to date. Bibliographers will welcome Father Parsons's list of first editions of the Bible in Catholic translations in the United States between 1790 and 1860. Two contributions to Catholic church history, "Brownson on Know Nothingism", by Joseph R. Frese, S. J., and "Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick and Anti-Catholicism in New England, 1829-1845", by Sister Loyola, S.N.D., discuss the efforts of an ecclesiastic and a layman to combat different aspects of that perennial evil—religious intolerance.

SISTER MARY AUGUSTINA.

Records of a Yorkshire Manor. By Sir THOMAS LAWSON-TANCRED, Bt. (London, Edward Arnold; New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xii, 384, $8.00.) There are few students of history with sufficiently specialized knowledge of successive periods to enable them to write an adequate continuous history of any village or town through many centuries. A model for such efforts is the well-known work of Professor and Mrs. Gras on a Hampshire village. The attempt under consideration here, to give from its records a picture of the life and development from Roman times of an interesting Yorkshire village, is of a different nature and may perhaps be said to fall between the scholarly and the popular. The work is divided into two main sections, a long account of manorial history and a shorter but more interesting account of so-called "parliamentary" history. Each is in turn divided, not too clearly, into topics treated chronologically and bearing no very obvious relation to any general scheme of arrangement. The impression left on the mind of the reader is one of confusion of time and matter, increased by the author's running commentary of notes on miscellaneous subjects jotted down with little attempt at continuity. The many documents included are translated, sometimes modernized, sometimes condensed, and there is little description of the whole body of historical material available for the village or the author's basis of choice. There is no index, but there are a long table of contents and some maps. Yet the book shows clearly that Aldborough has had an interesting history, that it offers opportunities for the study of the Roman period, of early Yorkshire shires and sokes, and of ancient demesne peculiarities. The sections on "later parliamentary" history contain much of lively interest in the letters and papers taken from local and family archives. Some letters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are from well-known people, and the notes on disputed elections, the lists of mem-

bers of parliament from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, and the comments on some of them are of interest. N. NEILSON.

Poor-Relief in the Sixteenth Century. By CARL R. STEINBICKER. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1937, pp. xxxi, 272, $2.00.) The thesis of this book is that the problem of poor relief in the sixteenth century was dealt with more successfully in Roman Catholic countries, where it was based upon the co-operation of church and state and guided by religion, than in Protestant countries, where it was definitely secularized. The author, a Roman Catholic priest, evidently reached his conclusions before he examined his evidence and then picked over his evidence with his conclusions in mind. The book is a doctoral dissertation for the degree of doctor of sacred theology. It should therefore perhaps be examined rather as a contribution to theology than to history. Certainly as history it falls far below the standards of the best contemporary Roman Catholic scholarship. CONYERS READ.

Ein englischer Gesandtschaftsbericht über den polnischen Staat zu Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. Sir George Carew: A Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crowne anno 1598. By SIEGFRIED MEWS. [Deutschland under der Osten.] (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1936, pp. vi, 88, 3.50 M.)

The Discovery of a New World (*Mundus Alter et Idem*). Written originally in Latin by JOSEPH HALL, ca. 1605; Englished by John Healey, ca. 1609; edited by HUNTINGTON BROWN; with a Foreword by Richard E. Byrd. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xxxv, 230, $3.00.) In spite of having excited Milton to describe it as "tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a stewes", this imaginary journey to Antarctic lands has probably deserved its subsequent obscurity. Designed to entertain, it fails through tediousness because, an allegory itself, it attempts also to burlesque Hakluyt's *Voyages,* contemporary pedants, and ideal commonwealths and to satirize human folly and institutions. The author is neither as original nor as subtle as his predecessor Rabelais or his successors, Lahontan and Swift. His translator, a 1609 emigrant to Virginia, does his best with a pithy, pungent prose, but it is a long way to the best part of the story, "The Discouerie of Fooliana". The present editor has equipped the text with elaborate textual and explanatory notes and a glossary. J. B. BREBNER.

International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes, 1935. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1936, pp. viii, 134, 75 cents.) The problems dealt with in this volume of the series relate to vessels of war in neutral ports, naval activities during civil strife, ineffective blockades by aircraft, and certain duties of hospital ships in relation to blockades.

The History of Science and the New Humanism. By GEORGE SARTON. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xx, 196, $2.00.) What is new in this second edition of Dr. Sarton's Colver Lectures, which were originally published in 1931, is a short introduction, entitled "The Faith of a Humanist", reprinted from the 1920 volume of *Isis,* and the Elihu Root Lecture of 1935, "The History of Science and the Problems of Today". It is to be hoped that these essays will have their desired effect upon historical judgment. By the inertia of habit the student of history even yet appears to remain relatively indifferent to the study of the development of higher culture. This may indicate nothing more than a temperamental preference for the study of dramatic accident rather than lasting achievement, but with reference to the history of science it

seems, unfortunately, to point to a positive disinclination. On the part of the majority of humanists there is a marked reluctance to examine this most significant aspect of life in the past, a reluctance which ranges from distaste to actual fear. This distaste appears in many cases to be very deeply rooted: but analysis so frequently shows it to be either a persistent effect of misguided pedagogy in the lower schools or else the consequence of a sort of hypnotic influence exerted by the gratuitous mysticism that flavors our current technical subtleties in theorizing, that one is forced to infer that it is, in very great degree, quite unnecessarily acquired. This inhibitory influence, at least, may be corrected by the assimilation of a little of that humanely catholic humanism which Dr. Sarton advocates to take the place of the peculiar combination of storytelling and eclectic erudition which now too frequently passes as such.

FREDERICK BARRY.

Dusk of Empire: The Decline of Europe and the Rise of the United States. By WYTHE WILLIAMS. (New York, Scribner's, 1937, pp. xix, 325, $3.00.) Among the many books published recently by foreign correspondents of American newspapers this is an outstanding contribution. Of particular importance to the historian are the chapters dealing with the World War period. Williams had many close friends among leading personalities in European affairs and was able to obtain valuable information and insight. To solid reporting he added shrewd comments on contemporary political developments.

THEODORE ABEL.

L'évolution de l'esprit européen. By L. DUMONT-WILDEN. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie scientifique.] (Paris, Flammarion, 1937, pp. 232, 15 fr.) In 1914, a few months before the outbreak of the war, M. Dumont-Wilden published a little book under the title *L'esprit européen,* in which he came to the conclusion that the evolution of a European mentality could be conceived only as an internationalization of the French mind because French civilization, in which a tendency towards universality is inherent, was the only one which could superimpose itself upon Europe's diversity of national civilizations without destroying them. The postwar period has taught the author that this dream will not materialize. But the admission of disillusionment does not imply resignation or despair. In pursuing their dreams people sometimes get a glimpse of future verities. Besides, man cannot endure for long the contemplation of the hard face of truth; his will to live needs illusion. In the face of a Europe rent by hatreds, bristling with armaments, trembling on the brink of a new war, the author resumed his speculations on the evolution of a European mentality. He now reviews in rapid succession the various approaches made towards the ideal in the past: the sway of the Church of Rome over medieval Europe, the sway of French culture over the Continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Napoleon's abortive European empire, the successive internationals hailed by organized labor and betrayed by it in the hour of national danger, the League of Nations defied and abandoned by fascism and national socialism—a sad array of shattered hopes. Still, the author believes that unity is bound to come. The growing menace of the colored races will force the creation of a European mind. The alternative is annihilation.

A. J. BARNOUW.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Volume XVI, *1935-1936.* Edited by MILLAR BURROWS and E. A. SPEISER. (New Haven, the American Schools, 1936, pp. xi, 168, $2.50.) The publication by Pfeiffer (transliteration) and Speiser (translation and commentary) of these one hundred selected Nuzi texts is an important addition to the available material on the Hurrians, a people who were unknown a decade ago and now seem to provide the key to the history of the ancient Orient in the first half of the second millennium B.C. The first fourteen texts, containing court testimony

against Kushshiharbe, "mayor" of Nuzi at the beginning of the fifteenth century B.C., charged with corruption on a grand scale, are particularly valuable. It is unfortunate that the brevity of the commentaries makes the book useless for all but experts in the field.

André M. Andréadès, fondateur de la science des finances en Grèce. By ATHANASE J. SBAROUNIS. (Paris, Sirey, 1936, pp. viii, 294.) This disorganized and ill-digested summary of Andreades's unfinished *History of Greek Public Finance* adds nothing to our knowledge or appreciation of the work. There is good reason, however, for its existence. In the preface Professor Varvaressos, a governor of the Bank of Greece, praises Andreades for his scientific rigor, which shunned "all foreign activities, and especially politics" (p. vii), though the text itself proves the opposite. Andreades's magnum opus did have a thesis, and a political one at that, namely, that healthy democracy demands an orthodox (in the modern sense) system of public finance and that social legislation means destruction. Sbarounis, a high official in the Metaxas regime, hails Andreades as "a pillar of that neo-classical school . . . which has developed after the war in fascist Italy, has spread to national socialist Germany, and is also attracting partisans elsewhere" (p. 260). Liberty, he says, goes hand in hand with ruinous taxation. M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

Marcus Agrippa, Organizer of Victory. By F. A. WRIGHT. (New York, Dutton, 1937, pp. xi, 267, $2.50.) The necessity for unity of authority after the collapse of the Roman Republic and imperial propaganda have both conspired to obscure, or to credit Augustus with, the monumental contributions which were made to the establishment of the new order by Marcus Agrippa, his ablest general and admiral, his most efficient administrator, and his son-in-law and coregent. The last few years have seen justice done to the achievements of Agrippa in the Augustan reconstruction, and now Wright's popular biography is evidence enough that Agrippa has finally come into his own. But Wright has pushed the pendulum too far in the opposite direction in attributing to Agrippa the inspiration and execution of most of the major political, administrative, and social reforms of Augustus. Inflated by Wright's enthusiasm, Agrippa emerges as the "real" founder of the Roman Empire (a personality of special appeal to British readers because of his realization of the importance of sea power), while Augustus is dwarfed into a hollow symbol of authority. As a matter of fact, the materials for a biography of Agrippa are meager, and Wright has been forced to resort to generous "padding". In this category must be placed the theory that Agrippa was an illegitimate son of Julius Caesar! MEYER REINHOLD.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin. By LYNN THORNDIKE and PEARL KIBRE. [Mediaeval Academy of America.] (Cambridge, the Academy, 1937, pp. xvi, 926, $12.00.) Whoever has done any research in medieval scientific manuscripts knows how extremely difficult it sometimes is to identify texts that have been transmitted anonymously. The chief characteristic of such a text, apart from its general content, is its incipit, and a catalogue of incipits is therefore extraordinarily welcome. Thorndike and Kibre have listed many thousands of incipits, indicating in each case the author and title of the work to which the incipit belongs, one or more manuscripts or editions where it may be found, or some secondary work giving this information. Works in medicine and occult sciences have been covered as well as those in natural and mathematical science, properly so because they went together in the Middle Ages. Latin translations of ancient authors have been included. The incipits were compiled from all possible sources, mostly catalogues of collections of manuscripts but also printed editions, bibliographies, and whatever material could be made available. Only a scholar with the experience of Thorndike was able to cover such a wide field and attain such comprehensiveness. An index of more than a hundred pages lists all works, whether genuine, dubious, or spurious, attributed to an author, and refers to the corresponding incipits. Such a work cannot possibly be complete, and every researcher will occasionally find gaps. I have used the catalogue extensively in the last two months, however, and so far it has never failed me. There can be no doubt that Professor Thorndike has created one of the most valuable instruments of research in medieval science. The reviewer shares the author's hope "that this volume may prove to be the prolegomena to that Corpus of medieval scientific writings in Latin which should be one of the immediate concerns of both humanistic and scientific historical scholarship". HENRY E. SIGERIST.

Théodora, impératrice de Byzance. By CHARLES DIEHL. (Paris, Boccard, 1937, pp. 314, 15 fr.) This book is not a new monograph on Theodora but merely a reprint, word for word, of Diehl's scholarly and charming book published under the same title in 1904. Even the introduction is reprinted in its entirety, with some unfortunate results. For instance, the statement that the first performance of V. Sardou's drama *Théodora,* which took place in 1884, occurred twenty

years ago, was correct in 1904 but not in 1937. It is much to be regretted that no mention is made of the previous edition, for a reader unfamiliar with the subject might suppose that this is a new book. A. VASILIEV.

Zantoch: Eine Burg im deutschen Osten. Edited by A. BRACKMANN and W. UNVERZAGT. Part I, *Zantoch in der schriftlichen Ueberlieferung und die Ausgrabungen, 1932/1933.* By J. BAAS *et al.* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1936, pp. vi, 140, 7 M.)

Legenden um Jaxa von Köpenick: Deutsche und slawische Fürsten im Kampf um Brandenburg in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts. By HERBERT LUDAT. (*Ibid.*, pp. 54, 2.50 M.)

Hans von Baysen: Ein Staatsmann aus der Zeit des Niederganges der Ordensherrschaft in Preussen. By RUDOLF GRIESER. (*Ibid.*, pp. vii, 148, 4 M.)

Geschichte der Pläne zur Teilung des alten polnischen Staates seit 1386. Volume I, *Der Teilungsplan von 1392.* By HILDEGARD SCHAEDER. (*Ibid.*, 1937, pp. viii, 92, 5 M.)

Die Anfänge des Bistums Posen und die Reihe seiner Bischöfe von 968-1498. By GERHARD SAPPOK. (*Ibid.*, pp. vi, 154, 5 M.) These five significant studies are among the first to be issued in the new series, "Deutschland und der Osten", which will include sources and investigations concerning the eastern German provinces and adjacent lands, emphasizing in particular the relations between these sections of Europe. It had been planned to include works of this sort in the *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven,* but this proved impracticable because investigations could not be confined to the Prussian archives. The editors of the series hope that this new series of publications will stimulate research on the part of archivists and historians who are interested in this special field of study. The volumes are excellently printed and, where essential, include carefully prepared maps and well-chosen illustrations.

Magdeburg als Hauptstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter. By ALBERT BRACKMANN. (Leipzig, H. Schmidt & C. Günther, 1937, pp. 88.) An essay written in commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of Otto I's foundation of the St. Moritzkloster, September 21, 937, with many excellent illustrations.

Actes des comtes de Namur de la première race, 946-1196. Edited by FÉLIX ROUSSEAU. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Hayez, 1937, pp. cxliv, 151.) This collection consists of thirty-three acts issued directly by the counts of Namur, twenty references to acts of the counts now lost, and five documents which the counts ordered to be promulgated but in which they themselves are mentioned only in the third person. While many of the acts consist of the usual grants to churches, there are several *documents de choix.* Particularly interesting is the notice of the eleventh century in which are enumerated the rights and jurisdiction of the counts at Dinant, described by the late Professor Pirenne as the most ancient existing document of Belgian municipal law. The editor devotes half the volume to studies of the chronology of the counts and to their appanages. The subject of diplomatics is treated generally in a few pages since there is no evidence of an organized chancery before the latter part of the twelfth century. The author, however, deals learnedly with problems of diplomatics in such of the individual acts as require comment. Owing to the restricted number of documents and the small area of the county of Namur the usefulness of these documents will become more apparent when they can

be studied in connection with similar collections for other parts of Belgium. Nevertheless, M. Rousseau deserves the highest praise for the erudition and skill with which these acts have so obviously been edited. S. E. GLEASON.

Register of the Hospital of S. John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin. Transcribed and edited by ERIC ST. JOHN BROOKS, from the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 498. [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1936, pp. xxi, 422, 1 Guinea.) This scholarly edition of a Latin cartulary is more useful to students of economic history and genealogy than to one who seeks details of hospital organization and life in the Middle Ages. All the medieval documents of this hospital are included, but they deal, for the most part, with lands, houses, and rents, not with patients and their care. There is a list of priors from 1188 to the Suppression in 1539. This list, and the many names included in records of land transactions, may contain useful biographical information. There is an excellent introduction which summarizes the history of the hospital. It might have been expanded with profit to the reader, since the only history of the hospital, a brief paper in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1924, pp. 58-64), is not always accessible and is indispensable to the reader of this cartulary. The introduction includes a detailed description of the manuscript from which the edition was made, with learned comments on the handwriting, marginal notes, and erasures. The index is carefully made and apparently includes all proper names in the charter.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN.

The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193-1205). By PHILIP S. MOORE. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1936, pp. ix, 218, $1.25.) Peter of Poitiers, one of the four "Labyrinths" of France and a "modernist" in the eyes of the conservative theologians of his times, deserved more than the short references to his works which are usually found in the histories of medieval philosophy or the occasional discussions in learned articles of either his life or some of his works. Dr. Moore has made a valuable contribution to the history of medieval thought, and his monograph is a model of method and of critical accuracy. The biographical sketch solves many questions of dates and of names about which there was a great deal of confusion. The catalogue of the manuscripts containing writings of or attributed to Peter is exhaustive—for the present at least. Of each of Peter's writings Dr. Moore gives a clear summary of the content after having discussed the questions of authenticity, date of composition, and all other details which are often so important in tracing the history of medieval learning. The part played by Peter in the movement which undermined the old theological method and made room for dialectics in theology appears to have been more important than has commonly been supposed. G. LA PIANA.

Markward of Anweiler and the Sicilian Regency: A Study of Hohenstaufen Policy in Sicily during the Minority of Frederick II. By THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE. (Princeton, University Press, 1937, pp. x, 231, $2.50.) The *longum esset referre* with which historians are wont to hasten over complex series of events is inspired, one suspects, less by compassion for the reader than by reluctance to plunge into the tangle and extricate the really significant strands of history. The present monograph, preliminary to a full-dress account of the Hohenstaufen Empire, brings order out of the chaos of the five years of Sicilian war and diplomacy between the death of Henry VI and the establishment of Innocent

III's regency in the island. Impressed by "the peculiar significance of the events of these years in relation to the continuity of Hohenstaufen policy as a whole", Dr. Van Cleve re-examines the struggle for the Sicilian regency, the much-discussed "testament" of Henry VI, and the relation of Markward of Anweiler to the child Frederick II. He emerges with conclusions which, naturally, have been anticipated in some cases by other scholars, but which have never before been presented so clearly and completely. Markward ceases to be the ogre pictured by the papal historians—and even by Kantorowicz—and becomes the faithful servitor of his dead master's will, the loyal guardian of the infant heir. Despite the faint odor of whitewash which inevitably clings to every such rehabilitation, Dr. Van Cleve's central contention seems adequately proved: that Markward vigorously upheld and prosecuted the Hohenstaufen imperial policies "during a period when all circumstances appeared to combine to check the plans of this active and ambitious family". The bibliography will be very useful, although one misses G. Paolucci, "La giovinezza di Federico II di Svevia e i prodromi della sua lotta col Papato" (*Atti della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Palermo*, ser. 3, VI, 1901) and E. Perels, *Der Erbreichsplan Heinrichs* VI. (Berlin, 1927). LYNN WHITE, JR.

The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History. By R. F. BENNETT. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. xii, 189, $3.25.) These studies deal with the conditions which gave rise to the founding of the Dominican order, the personality of St. Dominic, the origin and significance of the Dominican principle of poverty, the education of the friars and the advantages and dangers of the emphasis placed upon learning, Dominican preaching, the relations of the Dominicans to the world, the evidence of the decline of the order late in the thirteenth century, and the nature of the constitution of the order. Aside from the introductory chapter, which presents rather more sweeping generalizations concerning the corruption of the clergy than the evidence appears to warrant, the studies take the form of critical essays. Though they contain new material, they are interesting particularly for the new views and conclusions which they develop. On the vexed question of Dominican poverty, for example, Mr. Bennett denies "the complete poverty of St. Dominic and his early companions, and the saint's alleged supreme insistence on it, and on the other hand the suggestion that he borrowed it *en bloc* from Francis" (p. 35), concluding that it was with him a means and not an end or a virtue (p. 48). With regard to the Dominican constitution he suggests that it was democratic in theory and form and largely autocratic in reality and practice (ch. x). Some of the independent judgments, of which these are illustrations, are more convincing than others, but all of them are reached by an intensive study of sources or by subjecting the conclusions of other writers to keen analysis in the light of the sources. They are provocative of thought and render the book both suggestive and stimulating. W. E. LUNT.

Documents illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540. Edited by WILLIAM ABEL PANTIN. Volume III. [Camden Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1937, pp. ix, 414.) As was pointed out in my reviews of previous volumes of these documents (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 149, and XXXIX, 560), the two provinces of the English Black Monks, Canterbury and York, were united in

1336 into one provincial chapter. The present volume covers the period from that date down to the dissolution and supplies us with miscellaneous documents, financial documents, a list of proxies, examples of visitation citations and certificates, tables of contributions and of presidents, and lastly, a series of indexes. The most interesting documents are those dealing with financial matters. The tax levied by the provincial chapters on their members was at the rate, usually, of one penny in the pound or one farthing in the mark of income, calculated on a three-year basis. Against this income of the chapter were charged the expenses of the presidents, the visitors, the proctors at the Roman curia, the Benedictine colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and clerks and accountants. As the editor points out (p. ix), insistence upon study at the universities was a matter of deliberate policy, consistently maintained. A type of "highly privileged, influential" monk was thus created, "le moine universitaire". Some light is thrown upon matters of general historical importance. John Acley, a monk of Durham, was ordered by the president to enter the lists against Wiclif, but the prior of Durham forbade him to do so because the attitude of the king's council rendered such a course too dangerous (p. 79). The prior of Worcester sent a proxy to the provincial chapter which met in July, 1381, his excuse being, the Peasants' Revolt. Among the indexes is one of "Selected Biographies" extending to eighty-four names, which should prove to be useful.

WARREN O. AULT.

The Scourge of the Clergy, Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany. By SIDNEY PAINTER. [The Johns Hopkins Historical Publications.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. vii, 155, $2.25.) After writing the life of William Marshal, the most loyal of thirteenth century barons, Mr. Painter may have felt that the other extreme of behavior would be equally interesting. Superlatives are dangerous, but certainly Peter of Dreux was one of the most disloyal barons of thirteenth century France. Yet Peter's conduct was conventional, though somewhat more forceful than that of his fellow barons. His life is a fair sample of some of the tendencies of his age. Nonprofessional readers who accept easy generalizations about the Middle Ages should study the career of this inveterate persecutor of the clergy and rebel against the king, who died on a crusade under Saint Louis. Students of the thirteenth century will be interested in Mr. Painter's careful analysis of the intrigues, rebellions, and wars which marked the early years of Louis's reign. Peter played a large part in these affairs, and this new detailed knowledge of his actions adds to our understanding of French, and English, history during the period. The author occasionally tends to magnify the ability and importance of his hero. For example, I find it hard to believe that the anti-clerical league of 1246 was primarily caused by Peter's scheming. Such over-emphasis is almost inevitable in biography. On the whole, this is the story of an interesting life, told with zest and skill.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

G. Pico della Mirandola, sincretismo religioso-filosofico, 1463-1494. By EUGENIO ANAGNINE. [Biblioteca di cultura moderna.] (Bari, Laterza e Figli, 1937, pp. 277, 18 l.) Like the phoenix of old, Pico della Mirandola rises once again to fill the pages of another book on his philosophical career. The present study is essentially an expansion of two earlier articles published in the *Revue d'histoire de la philosophie et d'histoire générale de la civilisation* (April, 1934). The author traces Pico's religious and philosophical syncretism from its beginnings. Consideration is given to his stay at the University of Padua, where he came

into contact with the teachings of Arabic philosophers, especially Averroes, and to his sojourn at the Paris studium. Especial attention is paid to his relations with the adherents and exponents of Hebraic and Christian Cabala, many of whom are listed in Pico's writings and in the 1498 inventory of his library. Two final chapters are given over to Pico's interest in Platonism and Neoplatonism and his "View of the World". On the whole an interesting and well-integrated account of Pico's career and milieu, this work is somewhat marred by a few obvious errors. Thus there is repeated (p. 93) the mistake made by C. Cesis that Pico had willed his library to the Dominicans of San Marco in Florence. As already indicated in my study, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola,* no such statement is to be found in Pico's last will and testament, the text of which Cesis himself published in 1897. The date for C. Cesis's biography should be 1897, not 1872 (p. vii) or 1894 (p. 6, n. 2). The omission of several words after *verbis* in the quotation (p. 52) from the *Apologia,* and after *perdiscendas libri* (p. 78), makes these passages as they now stand unintelligible. Such misprints (p. 51) as *ordor* for *ordo, in tuas bibliothecas* for *in tuis bibliothecis,* while not of great importance, would have been eliminated by more careful proofreading. PEARL KIBRE.

Itinéraires de Charles, duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York, et Marie de Bourgogne, 1467-1477. By HERMAN VANDER LINDEN. [Académie royale de Belgique.] (Brussels, Lamartin, 1936, pp. 87.) This volume should interest all students of the stormy career of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. It contains much minute information of the wanderings of that prince and of members of his family.

Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie. Part 2. By J. M. E. DOLS. (Nijmegen, N. V. Centrale Drukkerij, 1937, pp. 33-64.) In this the second part of the bibliography of the Devotio Moderna, titles of books and articles are given which either in part or in whole are devoted to the Brethren of the Common Life and the monastic Congregation of Windesheim. A bibliography on the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* is included. A. HYMA.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The British Empire

R. L. Schuyler

Memorials of the Holles Family, 1493-1656. By Gervase Holles. Edited by A. C. Wood. [Camden, Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1937, pp. xiv, 287.) Gervase Holles (1607-75), a well-known antiquary in his day, amassed a vast collection of materials for a history of Lincolnshire, his native county. Much of it seems to have perished during the Civil War, in which he fought on the king's side, but from what remained he compiled, while in exile on the Continent, a *Tractatus* on the history of his family from the reign of Henry VII to his own day, which is published for the first time in the present volume. Dr. A. C. Wood, a former student of Sir Charles Firth, who first called his attention to this work, contributes a short introduction and notes.

Sir Richard Grenville of the "Revenge": An Elizabethan Hero. By A. L. Rowse. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1937, pp. 365, $3.50.) In this admirable, full-length biography Mr. Rowse makes clear what manner of man it was who braved a whole fleet of the enemy with a single ship. Grenville turns out on examination to have been surprisingly many-sided: a trusted instrument of Elizabeth's government in the west of England, a colonizer of lands in Munster, a sea commander in the naval war with Spain, a leader in Raleigh's Virginia enterprise, and the projector of an English voyage into the Pacific in 1574. The Virginia episode of Grenville's career is freshly told, but the author brings out little that is new. The remainder of the book abounds in novel information and stimulating interpretation. In the reviewer's opinion the high point is the chapter on the proposed expedition into the South Sea in search of Terra Australis, which sums up in excellent fashion the findings of recent scholarship on this fascinating project. Students of Tudor government will relish the chapters devoted to Grenville's work as justice of the peace, sheriff, and member of parliament. The index occasionally leaves something to be desired; and an incidental generalization of the author, who remarks on the circumstance that Grenville in a letter to Walsingham twice uses the expression "god be thanked", is certainly debatable. Mr. Rowse writes: "One notices the increased godliness of the language with Grenville as with the seamen generally, as time went on and the impending struggle with Spain drew nearer". A more plausible explanation would be that Grenville as a courtier knew how best to make a politic appeal to the queen's Puritan minister. These mechanical and inexpensive pieties are but the a b c of the saints' jargon, 1585 style. Fulmer Mood.

Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place. Volume III. Edited by William A. Shaw. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1936, pp. lxxiv, 547, $3.40.) The second volume of the L'Isle and Dudley (Sydney family) papers, carried almost to the press by the late Mr. C. L. Kingsford before his death, was brought out by Dr. Shaw, who

continues his work in this third volume, covering the years 1602 to 1607. Unlike the second volume, the third contains but few papers already printed by Collins in his edition of the Sydney papers. Nine tenths of the material here presented consist of the letters of Sir William Browne, deputy governor of Flushing, to his chief, Sir Robert Sydney, governor of Flushing, attendant at the court in England. Browne informs Sir Robert from day to day very fully, but often not very shrewdly, of the gossip of Netherlands politics and the cross-currents of intrigue which led up to the Treaty of 1609. Dr. Shaw prefaces the letters with a study of Anglo-Dutch relations between 1584 and 1598, which, drawn largely from unpublished sources, may well prove more valuable than the letters in the previous volumes to which Dr. Shaw's essay forms an introduction. He shows both the huckstering greed of the Dutch to get anybody to pay for as much of their war with Spain as possible and the great extent of English aid, in men and money, to them. F. C. DIETZ.

Der religiöse Ursprung des modernen englischen Freiheits- und Staatsideals: Die Geschichtsgestaltung des Independentismus. By PHIL. H. POPPERS. (Berlin, Taussig and Taussig, 1937, pp. x, 127.) This is a superficial survey of the development of English Independency, covering the whole subject in 127 pages. Based mainly on secondary works, and not always the latest ones at that, it illustrates the pitiful state of much recent historical writing in Germany.

The Passing of the Stewarts. By AGNES MURE MACKENZIE. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xvi, 461, $3.75.) Miss Mackenzie seems to have sketched British history from 1639 to 1748 from a Scottish nationalist's point of view. The central event of the period, the union, she regards as a calamity which has bled white her native land. Another unusual thesis is that the Episcopalians were in a majority north of the border, a "crushing" majority about 1690. Needless to say, these paradoxes are not proved. Moreover, the author sometimes makes statements that are seriously misleading, as in her treatment of the case of the Seven Bishops, from which a reader would naturally draw inferences that are unwarranted. As serious as careless handling of historical facts is a baseless story against the reputation of a great historian. According to a footnote on page 229 Macaulay borrowed some Hamilton papers that concerned Claverhouse, quoted them in the *History of England,* explained when asked to return them that they had been inadvertently destroyed, but was discovered from transcripts made before the loan to have badly garbled them to Claverhouse's discredit. Miss Mackenzie could have easily discovered that Macaulay never quotes or garbles any Hamilton papers at all about Claverhouse. Her failure to question such a story impairs confidence in her ability to unravel problems requiring more serious research than the reading of Macaulay's text. GODFREY DAVIES.

Jesuit Relations of Canada, 1632-1673: A Bibliography. By JAMES C. MCCOY. With an Introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth. (Paris, Arthur Rau, 1937, pp. xv, 310 (36), 225 fr.) This work now published by the author's family, as a memorial in an edition of 350 copies, had been completed in manuscript by James Comly McCoy before his death in 1934. He was an American bibliophile, native of Urbana, who died in France, where he had been living for some years. Parkman's works early inspired in him an interest in Canadiana, and he formed in later years a notable library of French Americana of which a privately printed catalogue was issued in 1931. In the present bibliographical study may be found, says Dr. Wroth, "the sublimation of a century of progress

by numerous scholars in the correct listing and description of the 132 editions and distinct variants in which the 41 separate Relations are found". They are technically collated by signatures and pagination, and generally the title pages are reproduced in facsimile. A synoptic table of thirty-six pages segregates the "points" of variants, useful to collectors and librarians for identification but of historical service only in a few cases of important textual changes. The bibliographical record is here limited to that series of annual Relations begun in 1632 by Father Paul le Jeune and ended by Father Claude Dablon in 1673, embracing some forty years of the French period from Richelieu to Colbert, while in Thwaites's seventy-three volume set of *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* the bibliographical data cover nearly two centuries, from 1610 to 1791.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

A Corner of Empire: The Old Ontario Strand. By T. R. GLOVER and D. D. CALVIN. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xi, 178, $3.75.) This book has three subjects: Kingston (Ontario) founded by Loyalists, Queen's University founded by Scotch Presbyterians, and the rafting firm of Calvins founded by D.D., senior. One reads hopefully, expecting an encounter between a Loyalist and a Scot or between a Presbyterian and a raftsman, but they do not meet. Maybe Kingston is like that. Dr. Glover's discourse on the Loyalists will hardly please the judicious. So absorbed is he in denouncing the Patriots that he has little time for the Loyalists. What did they do for Kingston, for Queen's? We are told only that they endured. But if they appear ethereal, their numbers are vastly increased. Tradition has placed the entire Loyalist migration to Canada before 1785 at 10,000. A. L. Burt has carefully pruned this to 6800. Dr. Glover brings 25,000 to Canada in a single year. Both authors were at Queen's during the Boer War, one as professor, the other as student, and the book at once describes and exemplifies the devotion which this university has ever drawn to itself. There is an excellent portrayal of the rugged figure of Principal Grant. Calvin's chapters on the shipping of square timber from the Great Lakes to Quebec are vivid, detailed, and altogether delightful. The last raft went down in 1911. Mr. Calvin should, however, have credited those magazines in which much of his material has already appeared.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy. Edited by ALLEN B. HINDS. Volume XXXVI, *1669-1670.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. lv, 421, $6.75.) The present volume of this *Calendar* has for its main theme the confused state of English foreign policy during the short time that elapsed between final acceptance of the Triple Alliance and negotiation of the Treaty of Dover. As observer of this scene, Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador to England, was neither more wide-awake than his colleagues nor more fortunate than they in the sources of his news. Commenting on the dealings of Charles and Louis in 1670, he scornfully rebuked suspicious men, their "ill-founded judgments of secret transactions with France fall completely to the ground". His remarks on English domestic politics were also commonplace. But what was to be expected of an ambassador who more than once complained of his "futile and distasteful" residence in England? As in previous volumes of this *Calendar,* the editor provides a general introduction, footnotes to explain details in the text, and an elaborate index. The introduction is arranged rather rigidly by topics, such as Anglo-French, Anglo-Spanish, and Anglo-Dutch relations. One error at least

can be attributed to the hasty generalization made necessary by this method. Seeking to account for the strong course taken by the English ambassador in Paris, as reported on October 30, 1669, the editor cites an incident that is said to have occurred on April 24, 1670. As to the translation of the dispatches, the style used by the editor is sometimes extraordinary. Can Mocenigo's Italian—though Mr. Hinds says that it is "apt to be cumbrous"—justify an English rendering that uses such sentences as the following: "It [religion] has stirred them to such an extent that, that the tender consciences of these furiously zealous sectaries being aroused by them, more and more opposition is being generated against the severe measures which had been already decreed against such dangerous meetings"? F. G. MARCHAM.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III, January, 1699-March, 1700, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by EDWARD BATESON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. lxi, 545, $8.00.) In general it is to be observed that there is little of outstanding importance in these papers. The most significant series is that emanating from the then secretary of state, James Vernon. His letters to Sir Joseph Williamson, ambassador at The Hague until July, 1699, give some details pertinent to the negotiations for the treaties with Sweden and Denmark which were ultimately signed in January, 1699/1700. However, as the editor is at pains to point out in his helpful introduction, they merely supplement the evidence on the subject contained in the letters of William III to Hensius in the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau.* Galway's letters from Ireland, together with a few from the Earl of Drogheda, add something to our knowledge of the difficulties there encountered by the commission for inspecting Irish forfeitures and of the progress of the linen and woolen bills in the Irish parliament. No allusion is made to the projects then pending for the division of Charles II's Spanish properties, and only passing references are found to the mounting anger of Spaniards and Scots anent the expedition to Darien. However, the effort to suppress libelous publications on that tender subject exhibit a lively concern on the part of English officialdom. Undated documents of an earlier period, printed as addenda to those of 1699, stress the interest in a variety of banking projects for which the 1690's are notable. Confirmations of the appointments of town clerks and recorders under the terms of Restoration charters suggest how little change the Revolution wrought in municipal constitutions. As is not always the case, the index bears up exceedingly well under extensive testing. Another volume, whose materials are alluded to in confusing fashion in the editor's introduction, will complete the calendar for the reign of William III. R. H. GEORGE.

Timothy Hierlihy and his Times: The Story of the Founder of Antigonish, N. S. By C. J. MACGILLIVRAY. (Halifax, Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1935, pp. 157.) The annals, drawn from a wide variety of original sources, of a Connecticut Irishman who, after rising from private to major during his eight years of service (1755-1762) in the colonial forces, chose the Loyalist side in the Revolution. With troops raised by himself he served at New York, Halifax, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island before retiring on demobilization to found a new settlement on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. J. B. BREBNER.

The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada: Its Struggle for Establishment. By W. STANFORD REID. (Toronto, Presbyterian Publications, 1936, pp. 190, $1.50.)

This volume, a revised master's thesis, throws considerable light not only on the Church of Scotland but also on the position of the Church of England. The latter had extensive privileges in Lower Canada, though it was hardly established by law. The writer portrays the struggle of the Kirk to procure privileges equal to those of the Church of England in civil registration, marriage, government grants, land endowments, clergy reserves, and education. Some historians would disagree with the implication of this statement on page 167: "Unfortunately for both churches, they did not long remain in the comfortable positions secured for them in 1840." In the main Mr. Reid used contemporary sources, and his work is an excellent contribution to Canadian church history. M. A. GARLAND.

Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Jeremy Bentham in the Library of University College, London. Compiled by A. TAYLOR MILNE. (London, University College, 1937, pp. x, 147, *2s. 6d.*) Since these manuscripts include most of what Bentham wrote in fifty years of continuous production, it is not surprising that the 173 boxes in which the papers are filed should contain approximately 43,000,000 words or twenty times as much as the eleven-volume Bowring edition of Bentham's published works. In 1900, after spending some months in studying the manuscripts, Halévy said that there remained much important material not used by Bowring. The statement is still true, and all scholars interested in Bentham are in the debt of the University College Library Committee for having made possible Mr. Milne's accurate and helpful guide and index. C. W. EVERETT.

Victorian England: Portrait of an Age. By G. M. YOUNG. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 213, $3.00.) Mr. Young has reprinted almost unchanged the brilliant concluding chapter of *Early Victorian England* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 733) and carried it forward to cover the mid- and late-Victorian years. The brief and allusive review of events incorporated in the first part of the continuation seems hardly worthy of the author; but the latter and purely interpretative part is, as one would expect, highly lettered, admirably written, and, at its best, extremely suggestive. Mr. Young is at pains to emphasize that "the very word 'Victorian' may be used to mask . . . a misconception", for he can find only two things to which "Victorians" of all periods were undeviatingly faithful: "Representative Institutions and the Family". Although he virtually ignores the development and possible effects of Marxian and Darwinian determinism and finds some changes belonging to the credit side, a tone of mournful resignation pervades his review of the fundamental changes which took place in British thought and British life. His charges against the late Victorians are familiar, but they are presented freshly and incisively. And there are some striking passages. Thus on domestic tranquillity: "Between Ireland and the Empire there was not room enough to plant an agitation or time enough for it to grow." HERBERT C. F. BELL.

Labby: The Life and Character of Henry Labouchere. By HESKETH PEARSON. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1937, pp. 318, $3.50.) The author of *Gilbert & Sullivan* has turned his talents for character study to the most Gilbertian of Victorian public men. In *Labby* the readers of this journal will find, for the price of a mediocre Broadway production, a burlesque show (generally refined) which is guaranteed to keep them in gales of laughter from start to finish, and this through the medium of authentic history. Labby's

mission in life—if he had one, which he would have denied—was to expose sham and humbug in all their manifold Victorian varieties, and he did it with unfailing gusto. *Truth,* which he founded in 1877, was the scourge of impostors and stuffed shirts. Its disclosures and comments on the passing scene involved him as defendant in an amazing number of libel suits, in almost all of which he was successful. Together with his uncourtly references in the house of commons and elsewhere to the royal family and its high cost to the nation, *Truth* aroused the implacable wrath of Queen Victoria, who vetoed Gladstone's proposal in 1892 to give Labby cabinet rank. "That horrible lying Labouchere", she exclaimed on one occasion. "One of the very few quite honest M. P.'s who always told the truth and was always amusing", wrote Wilfred Scawen Blunt.

The British Empire: A Report on its Structure and Problems. By a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. vii, 336, $6.00.) This publication was intended to present a brief, up-to-date survey of the British Empire and of the principal problems that would come before the Imperial Conference of 1937 and also to serve as part of the documentation for the next meeting of the Unofficial Conference on British Commonwealth Relations, an institution that was inaugurated in 1933. Those who co-operated in its preparation had the benefit of criticism from a number of experts in the United Kingdom and other parts of the Commonwealth, and the result is a convenient, well-arranged, and reliable body of information which all students of recent developments in the Empire will find useful. The first two of its three parts, concerned respectively with the countries of the Empire and the institutional, legal, and conventional fabric of the Empire, are in the nature of background for an understanding of present imperial problems, which form the subject matter of the last part.

The Study of British Imperial History. By ERIC A. WALKER. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. 47, 75 cents.) This lecture, delivered by the well-known historian of South Africa upon the occasion of his inauguration last April as Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History at Cambridge, is an argument for the study in Great Britain of the history of the British Empire and the United States. With an outlook upon the Empire acquired during long residence and study in one of its outer marches, Professor Walker expresses some ideas that should have wider currency in British academic circles.

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W. A. Hirst. The Manuscript of Carlyle's "French Revolution". *Nineteenth Cent.*, Jan.

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J. S. Martell. The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830's. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

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Frank J. Klingberg. A Survey of Recent Books on British Africa, with Special Reference to the Native Problem. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Mar.

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M. G. Jones. Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust, 1675 and 1678 (?). *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, Nov.

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J. S. Martell. Some Editorial Opinions from the Newspapers of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830's. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

France, Belgium, and the Netherlands

S. B. Clough

Bibliographie critique des principaux travaux parus sur l'histoire de 1600 à 1914 (travaux de langue française ou relatifs à l'histoire de France): Année 1935 et compléments des années antérieures. Published by the "Revue d'histoire moderne". (Paris, Livre français, 1937, pp. xvi, 184, 30 fr.) The annotations in this volume are exceptionally precise and illuminating. The list of works in the French language concerning the history of foreign countries is not particularly important except for Belgium and Switzerland.

Recherches et documents sur l'histoire des prix en France de 1500 à 1800. By Henri Hauser. (Paris, Presses modernes, 1936, pp. 522, 100 fr.) This book, the first published fruit of the International Scientific Committee for the History of Prices, is a disappointment. The size and intricacies of the task of preparing a history of prices from 1500 to 1800 are obviously great, and they succeeded in flooring the French subcommittee which was under the direction of Professor Henri Hauser. In the introduction to the volume it is admitted that it was possible to show how much a certain article was worth in terms of

money at a given time and place, but that it was impossible or impracticable to produce statistical summaries of price curves that would have more than a very superficial meaning. The result is that this study ends in that confusion which comes from myriads of undigested details. The most constructive and informative parts of the work are (1) a table prepared by Henri Sée which shows the value of *ancien régime* money in terms of Poincaré (1928) francs, (2) a section on weights and measures, and (3) charts of grain prices for Paris, Grenoble, and Angers. Many of the data contained in the numerous tables are valuable, and the technique developed by the committee will be indispensable to the future student of the subject. But the job of finding any meaning in this material, which, by the way, has been deposited at the Archives nationales, remains to be done.

Napoleon and Talleyrand. By ÉMILE DARD. Translated by Christopher R. Turner. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. xxiii, 367, $6.00.) Talleyrand, as M. Dard points out, was very clear as to ends and subtle as to means. Many of Talleyrand's biographers have not emulated their hero's example. The early chapters are the strongest part of this book because they emphasize Talleyrand's broad objectives. Napoleon and Talleyrand differed radically on both foreign and domestic policy. Talleyrand envisaged a France with natural frontiers living in peace with Europe. At home he believed in a regime of limited and constitutional powers. As all practical statesmen know, foreign and domestic policy are pretty closely associated. Although Talleyrand never lost sight of his objectives, M. Dard is not so fortunate. The narrative after 1804 deals with personalities, gossip, and intrigue, much of which is but tenuously related to the main theme. The concluding chapters fail lamentably. Talleyrand's role on March 31, 1814, and the following days is given slight attention. Yet more than any other Frenchman—Napoleon excepted—it was Talleyrand who brought about the Restoration. Mr. Turner has made an excellent translation. The English edition in nearly all respects is superior to the original French.

EDGAR P. DEAN.

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F. L' Huillier. Une crise des subsistances dans le Bas-Rhin, 1810-1812. *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, Nov.

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A. Marcuse. La philosophie de l'Aufklärung à l'époque du romantisme: Comte et Schopenhauer. *Rev. Synthèse*, Oct.

Marcel Blanchard. Financiers français et chemins de fer suisses sous le Second Empire. *Rev. Éc. Pol.*, Nov.

Fernand L'Huillier. L'Alsacien et la création d'un journal gouvernemental à Strasbourg sous le Second Empire. *Rév. 1848*, Sept.

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H. N. Boon. De Afschieding en de Staatsfinancien, 1830-1840. *Gids*, Jan.

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Samuel F. Will. The Coup d'État of December 2, 1851, as seen by the Brothers Saint-Arnaud. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Mar.

Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary

E. N. Anderson

David Joris, Wiedertäufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert. By Roland H. Bainton. [Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.] (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1937, pp. vi, 229, 9 M.) Ever since Sebastian Franck wrote his *Geschichtsbibel* to show that "heretic is a title of honor, for truth is always called heresy", there have been historians ready to pay the homage of careful and sympathetic study to the virtues of the minor prophets of the Reformation. Ernst Troeltsch insisted on the contribution made by the sects to the cause of liberty and tolerance, and Rufus Jones acclaimed the "spiritual reformers" as the true witnesses to genuine religion. Now Professor Bainton, after ten years of research, is about to give us, in English, a study of Servetus, Castellio, Ochino, and Joris, four heretics who fled from their respective fatherlands to find an asylum in Switzerland. The book under review, translated into German by that accomplished scholar, Hajo Holborn, and his wife, is a preliminary publication of that part of the larger work devoted to a study of the life and doctrine of David Joris. It rests on that thorough and exhaustive study, both of printed works and of archival material, that one has learned to expect from its author. Nearly half the book is filled with hitherto unpublished documents, drawn from various quarters, relating to the posthumous trial of Joris. Born in

Flanders in 1501 or 1502, Joris soon came under the influence of various Anabaptists, especially of Melchior Hofmann. Tried for heresy and severely punished, he fled to Germany and Switzerland and, after the Münster catastrophe, attained the position of leader of one of the innumerable minor sects. There was nothing original in his thought, says Professor Bainton, which consisted of the common Anabaptist doctrines, with a tincture of erotic mysticism. Soon after his death at Basel, in 1556, his doctrine was subjected to a scrutiny by the Protestant rulers of the city, his books were condemned, his body dug up and burnt, and his followers forced to recant. PRESERVED SMITH.

The Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia to 1786. By SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY. [Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt, 1937, pp. viii, 155, $1.00.) The theme of this little book is the institutional unification and territorial development of Brandenburg-Prussia under the Hohenzollern dynasty. Professor Fay begins with an exposition of the characteristics and early history of the three geographical divisions of the rising state. He then treats with valuable detail the work of the Great Elector in laying the foundations of centralized power and in the final chapter surveys more rapidly the building erected on these foundations by the eighteenth century rulers. It is to be regretted that the book ends with 1786 since the ensuing twenty years disclosed weaknesses in the structure which had been largely concealed by the great ability and industry of Frederick William I and Frederick the Great. Emphasis is recurrently laid upon the development of the army and of the bureaucracy, but the relation of these "two solid pillars of the Prussian State" to the underlying social structure, while occasionally suggested, is not clearly brought out. The result is a somewhat one-sided conception of the Hohenzollern monarchy. While one may share the author's admiration for its unifying and constructive achievements, one must also recognize that these were purchased in considerable measure by acquiescence in the feudal powers of the nobility, whose continuing influence was long to impede the free development of Prussia and of Germany. Yet Professor Fay has provided a useful introduction to the subject which will be doubly welcome to teachers by reason of the dearth of material in English on German history in this period. SINCLAIR W. ARMSTRONG.

Der Oberrhein in der deutschen Geschichte. By GERHARD RITTER. [Freiburger Universitätsreden.] (Freiburg i. B., Fr. Wagner, 1937, pp. 36, 1 M.) This is the conventional German story of the Upper Rhenish area, with France as the great, persistent enemy and the Rhenish folk after the World War defending successfully the area for Germany.

Die Hundertsjahrfeier des Vereins für Geographie und Statistik zu Frankfurt am Main am 8. und 9. Dezember, 1936. Edited by WERNER GLEY. [Frankfurter Geographische Hefte.] (Frankfurt a. M., Verein für Geographie und Statistik, 1937, pp. 180.) This volume contains, in the following order, (1) a discussion by prominent German geographers of several topics on the geography of the ice age, (2) an address by Schacht showing Germany's need for colonies, (3) a description of Johannes Schöner's globe of 1515.

Johann Arnold de Reux, Generalvikar von Köln, 1704-1730: Eine Studie zur kirchlichen Verwaltung des Erzbistums Köln. By ROBERT HAASS. [Historischer Verein für den Niederrhein.] (Düsseldorf, L. Schwann, 1936, pp. xi, 226, 5 M.) This study of the eighteenth century ecclesiastical administration of the archdiocese of Cologne, based principally on about three thousand drafts of letters

by the Vicar General de Reux, is divided into three chapters covering the position of the vicar general in the complicated hierarchy of church officials, Reux's attempts at reform, and the interference with his reforms by the temporal power of the king of Prussia, the elector palatine, the free city of Cologne, and lesser potentates whose dominions were partly or wholly within the archdiocese. The vicar general was on the whole aided by the elector archbishop of Cologne, Joseph Clemens (1688-1723), and hampered by his successor, Clemens August (1723-61). Dr. Haass's conclusion is that the ecclesiastical administration of the archdiocese was "surprisingly good", so good, in fact, as to constitute a rather belated "climax of the Counter Reformation". He stresses the piety, good sense, knowledge of canon law, and executive ability of Reux. His picture, though possibly rather too rosy, is at least a valuable corrective of the still current nineteenth century underestimate of the eighteenth century church. The detailed description of the way in which such efficient bureaucrats as Reux were striving to bring order and decency out of the chaos of conflicting and overlapping spiritual and temporal jurisdictions in the eighteenth century Rhineland makes this competent monograph a useful contribution to the history of the Old Regime. Reux came of a bourgeois family in Cologne, entered the church, and found preferment rapidly through the influence of an uncle at court. He had to be a courtier and a bureaucrat to get on. His piety, like that of Cardinal Fleury, whom he resembles in character, was probably as great as circumstances would permit and certainly genuine, if devoid of "enthusiasm". PENFIELD ROBERTS.

Karl Gottlieb von Windisch: Das Lebensbild eines südostdeutschen Bürgers der Aufklärungszeit. By FRITZ VALJAVEC. (Munich, Max Schick, 1936, pp. 131.) Mr. Valjavec has performed a labor of love in rescuing the worthy Pressburg burgher, Karl Gottlieb von Windisch, from the oblivion into which posterity has callously allowed him to slip. Were it solely a matter of Windisch's attainments, one might be tempted, in evaluating the author's zealous combing of archival and printed contemporary sources, to sigh *parturiunt montes*. But by his very mediocrity (*Mittelmässigkeit*) Windisch gives point to his biographer's effort to illumine the spread of the German *bürgerliche Aufklärung* into the southern and southeastern portions of the Habsburg dominions. For the esteemed city father and prolific publicist was the living compendium of the virtues and the defects of the cultivated German of his day. He was didactic and earnest and a humorless rationalist champion of enlightened causes—tolerance in religion but no materialism, social reforms without a disturbance of fundamental relations, public education and emancipation of women along with a seemly respect for the constituted authorities. The author stresses Windisch's influence upon the development of the periodical press in Hungary and, even more, his place in treating national history in terms of an "enlightened" approach. It is not certain whether Windisch is prized more as a representative of the *bürgerliche Aufklärung* or as the spearhead of German cultural advance; but inasmuch as the author conceives the two movements as two sides of the same shield, the question answers itself. LEO GERSHOY.

Auswirkungen der Stein-Hardenbergschen Agrarreform im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts. By JOACHIM FRHR. VON DER GOLTZ. [Schriften über Landvolk und Landbau.] (Berlin, Deutsche Landbuchhandlung, 1937, pp. 111, 3 M.) Recent changes in the system of land tenure on peasant farms in Germany have revived interest in the era of peasant liberation, when the system now violently

condemned was built up. The present doctor's thesis is an attempt to describe the main effects of Prussian legislation on peasant liberation during the nineteenth century in the light of the convictions of its sponsors as well as of its contemporary and present-day critics. The subject is dealt with under three headings: the origin of the farm laborer class, the shifts of land property between peasants and estate owners, and the rise of rural mortgage indebtedness. The discussion of these three points does not, so far as the reviewer is aware, contain much that is new or original. The subject has long ago been so thoroughly covered by the standard works of G. F. Knapp, August Meitzen, Theodor von der Goltz, and others, that there was no terra incognita to discover. The merit of the study consists in giving the reader who is unfamiliar with the subject a brief abstract of the findings of the larger works, and the author has acquitted himself of this task with skill and intellectual honesty. The study would have profited if the particular Prussian type of reform, enforced by the (unmentioned) pressure of the landowner class on the government during the War of Liberation, to the great detriment of the small peasants, had been compared with the results of other forms of peasant liberation in adjacent German and non-German territory. It is well known, for instance, that the reform as carried out in Schleswig-Holstein was largely responsible for the particularly strong and favorable position of medium-sized peasant farms in that province. M. Jasny.

Deutsche Gesandtschaftsberichte zum Kriegsausbruch, 1914: Berichte und Telegramme der badischen, sächsischen, und württembergischen Gesandtschaften in Berlin aus dem Juli und August, 1914. Edited by August Bach. (Berlin, Quaderverlag, 1937, pp. 162. 4.50 M.) This volume contains a more accurate text of the reports of the Baden, Saxon, and Württemberg ministers or their chargés d'affaires in Berlin during the July crisis of 1914 than the text published in the *Revue d'histoire de la Guerre mondiale* in 1935. They are similar to and supplement the reports of the Bavarian minister published by P. Dirr in 1922 (3d ed., 1925). The editor accompanies them with a narrative introduction which contains a number of additional documents, including a warning talk which J. A. Spender had with Lichnowsky on July 22 and diary extracts from officers about the kaiser like Plessen and Lyncker. The reports of the Saxon and other representatives in Berlin add some interesting details as to the conflict between Bethmann's efforts for peace and the pressure for mobilization by the military authorities, but they do not materially change the picture as seen in the Kautsky documents and other published sources.

Sidney B. Fay.

Articles

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Emanuel Hugo Vogel. Der Anteil der deutschen historischen Schule an der Entwicklung der "politischen Ökonomie" zu einer "nationalen Volkswirtschaftslehre." *Vierteljahrsch. f. Soz.- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, XXX, no. 3.

Juri Semjonow. Raumüberwindende Männer: A. E. Johann-Wollschläger. *Zeitsch. f. Geopolitik*, Dec.

E. Benz. Rudolf Otto in seiner Bedeutung für die Erforschung der Kirchengeschichte. *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, LVI, nos. 2-3.

H. Beenken. Der Historismus in der Baukunst. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLVII, no. 1.

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Frederick W. J. Heuser. Gerhart Hauptmann's Trip to America in 1894. *Ger. Rev.*, Jan.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Joseph de Maistre and Giambattista Vico: Italian Roots of de Maistre's Political Culture. By ELIO GIANTURCO. (Washington, Murray and Heister, 1937, pp. ix, 240, $1.50.) This doctoral dissertation is an exposition of the political and historical thought of the great Savoyard nobleman who formulated the reply of Catholic and traditionalist Europe to the doctrines of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. All that reaction of metaphysics against materialism, of the historical against the rational, and of the organic against the mechanical, which issued in the extravagances of romanticism, was expressed in De Maistre without disturbance of the poised balance of reason and tradition which was the mark of his mind. It is therefore not surprising to learn that one who helped to form that mind was Vico, the neglected Neapolitan philosopher who in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century had firmly opposed himself to the antihistorical Cartesian and *philosophe* mentality. Not until the nineteenth century was this profound Italian really discovered by Europe north of the Alps, but the subtler minds knew him long before, and

De Maistre was of these. What appears in this study, however, is not a measurement of the direct influence of one man's thought upon another, but a thorough analysis of De Maistre with a revelation of the deep affinity between his mind and Vico's. Unfortunately neither of these men, who loom up ever more significantly in the perspective of modern history, is well known to the philosophers and historians of the English-speaking world. Vico indeed is barely more than a name to many, although an appreciation of the richness of his thought is perhaps now increasing. Professor Gianturco has therefore done something to relieve our poverty. But one could wish that he had done it with greater literary competence. His book is neither well ordered in form nor lucid in style. A thoroughgoing editorial revision toward clarity, succinctness, and simplicity of expression would have added greatly to its value.

ROSS HOFFMAN.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Hans Kohn

Bibliografie České Historie za rok 1935. By STANISLAVA JONÁŠOVÁ-HAJKOVÁ. (Prague, Historický Klub, 1937, pp. xxxii, 222, Kc. 44.) This volume contains the complete bibliography of Czech historiography for the year 1935. It is a

volume in a series which has appeared biannually and which will appear henceforth every year. It enumerates 4168 different publications and articles.

Nástin Československých Dějin. By Otakar Odložilík. (Prague, Beaufort, 1937, pp. 132, Kc. 20.) This "sketch of Czechoslovak history" presupposes some knowledge of Czechoslovak history on the part of the reader; within this limit it is probably the best brief introduction to Czech history. Half of the volume is devoted to the period down to the middle of the eighteenth century. It tries to give an integrated view of the history of the Czechs and the Slovaks from the dawn of their history to the present day and to stress the unity of development and the continuity of consciousness pervading the whole history.

O Josefu Pekařovi. Edited by Rudolf Holinka. (Prague, L. Kuncíř, 1937, pp. 369, Kc. 50.) This memorial volume for the dean of Czech historiography, Professor Pekař, contains a number of articles which deal with his personality and with his work. The most important contribution is a detailed study by the editor himself, which analyzes in more than ninety pages the human and the scholarly personality of Pekař.

Středověké Listy ze Slovenska. Edited by V. Chaloupecký. (Bratislava, Melantrich, 1937, pp. xl, 266, Kc. 75.) This is the first volume of a series, Slovenský Archiv, which will publish source material for the history of Slovakia. The present volume contains two hundred letters and documents, of which more than one hundred are published for the first time. They date from the fifteenth century and are all written in Czech, thereby proving that at that time Czech was the language used in Slovakia for the correspondence between the cities, the nobility, and even the central authorities of Hungary. The period covered coincides for the most part with the Hussite domination of Slovakia.

Geschichte der königlichen Hauptstadt Olmütz. By Johann Kux. (Reichenberg, Franz Kraus, 1937, pp. xvi, 542, Kc. 77.25.) The former director of the archives of the city of Olmütz publishes a history of the city from its beginning to 1918. It is a most complete story, with astonishingly rich documentation.

Epistolae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem, 1592-1628. Volume IV, *Epistolae et acta Antonii Caetani, 1607-1611* Part 2. Edited by Milena Linhartová. (Prague, Melantrich, 1937, pp. xlii, 491, Kc. 110.) These letters of the papal nuncio date from the first half of the year 1608, when the diet met at Regensburg and when the fight between Emperor Rudolf and his brother Matthias started. The reports of the nuncio throw an interesting light upon the situation not only in Bohemia but also in Hungary and Germany. The introduction to the volume is published in Czech and in Latin.

Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu. By P. Alois Kroess, S. J. (Vienna, Mayer, 1937, pp. 525, 50 Sch.) Pater Kroess had finished his book on the history of the Jesuits in Bohemia before his death about ten years ago. This is the second part of the second volume and includes the history of the most important years, from 1637 to 1657. The third and last volume, which will deal with the history from 1657 to 1773, is promised for the year 1940. The time of Ferdinand III witnessed the sufferings of the Jesuits during the Swedish victories in Bohemia and their triumph with the victory of the Counter Reformation. The volume tells in great detail the political vicissitudes of the Jesuits and their cultural activity.

Die Geschichte der deutschen Bühnen in Prag, 1883-1918, mit einem Rückblick, 1783-1883. By RICHARD ROSENHEIM. (Prague, Heinrich Mercy, 1937, pp. 234, Kc. 45.) A popular book on the history of the German theaters in Prague which, in view of the special position of the German minority there, has a definite interest for the political, cultural, and social history of Bohemia before the World War.

Národnostní vývoj Československé Republiky. By VLADIMÍR SLAMINKA. (Výškov in Moravia, F. Obzina, 1937, pp. 123, Kc. 15.) This very interesting statistical handbook analyzes the changes in the national composition of the inhabitants of the different parts of Czechoslovakia for the last fifty years. The central theme of modern Czechoslovak history is the struggle between the different nationalities inhabiting the territory. The statistical material reflects the changes in the social, cultural, and political strength of the different national groups.

Masaryk of Czechoslovakia: A Life of Tomas G. Masaryk, First President of the Czechoslovak Republic. By DONALD A. LOWRIE. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 222, $1.50.) This is a second edition of a book first published in 1930 and now supplemented by an additional chapter carrying the story to the death of Masaryk in September, 1937.

Seit 1918 . . . By HARRY KLEPETAŘ. (Mährisch-Ostrau, Kittel, 1937, pp. 430, Kc. 45.) This is the first attempt in German of a history of the Czechoslovak Republic, written in a purely journalistic way, but with a good knowledge of the events and with sometimes very interesting characterization of the leading personalities.

Ilirski Pokret. By MILOŠ RADOJKOVIČ. (Belgrade, Al. Popovič, 1937, pp. 77, Din. 8.) A brief but concise and well-written history of the Illyrian movement which will help to explain the present situation in Croatia.

RUSSIA

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Uraangkhai-Sakhalar: Ocherki po drevneĭ istorii Yakutov [studies in the ancient history of the Yakuts]. By G. V. KSENOFONTOV. Volume I. (Ogiz, Irkutsk, 1937, pp. 576, 12 r.) This work opens with a survey of the literature of the Yakuts and the sources for their history. Then follows a discussion of the origin of the people, their culture, and their early migrations. One of the supplements contains a Russian translation of Yakut and Tunguz folk ballads.

Opisaniye ural'skikh i sibirskikh zavodov, 1735 [description of Ural and Siberian mines and foundries]. By WILHELM DE HENNIN. (Moscow, Gos. izdat. "Istoriya zavodov", 1937, pp. 656, 15 r.) This is the first edition of an extensive work of capital importance written in 1735. It is at once a manual of technological practice and a descriptive and historical acount of Russian mines and metallurgical plants. There are many illustrations and a glossary of technical terms. The text follows the manuscript copy preserved in the Leningrad Public Library. Another manuscript copy is available in the New York Public Library (see *Bulletin,* XL, 1007-11).

Materialy po istorii volnenii na krepostnykh manufakturakh v XVIII veke [materials for the history of disturbances in the serf factories in the 18th century]. Edited by B. D. GREKOV. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1937, pp.

568, 19 r.) Issued under the auspices of the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., this volume consists of documents relating to the grave disturbances which occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century in certain textile mills and metallurgical plants employing serf labor. The papers are the records of the trials to which the culprits were brought in 1752-53. The documents, now kept in the Leningrad section of the Central Historical Archives, come from the records of the senate, the holy synod, and the Manufaktur-Kollegium. There is a detailed index.

The Voyage of Forgotten Men (*Tsushima*). By FRANK THIESS. Translated by Fritz Sallagar. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1937, pp. 415, $3.50.) In this narrative of the cruise of the Baltic Fleet to Japanese waters in 1904-5 the author of successful German novels eschews fiction, taking no liberties with the basic facts studiously gathered from the familiar sources. A freedom of emphasis, however, reveals the pen of the imaginative writer whose chief interest lies less in the events themselves than in the epic character of the Imperial Russian Navy's death march to Tsushima. The tale is well told, but the contribution is to literature rather than to history. EDWIN A. FALK.

Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya v epokhu imperializma: Dokumenty iz arkhivov tzarskovo i vremennovo pravitel'stv [international relations in the epoch of imperialism: documents from the archives of the imperial and provisional governments]. Series III, *1914-1917*. Volume IX. (Moscow, 1937, pp. 822.) After a delay of two years the publication of this important collection of documents has been resumed. The present volume covers the last quarter of 1915 and consists of diplomatic correspondence and military documents, 750 items in all. The subjects dealt with are Russia's armed forces, the conduct of the campaigns on the Russian front, the occupation of Serbia, and Far Eastern affairs.

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ROBERT J. KERNER. Russia's New Policy in the Near East after the Peace of Adrianople, including the Text of the Protocol of 16 September, 1829. *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, V, no. 3.

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O. CHAADAYEVA, ed. Armiya v period podgotovki i provedeniya Velikoĭ Oktyabr'skoĭ sotzialisticheskoĭ revolyutzii [the army during the period of the preparation and execution of the October Revolution]. *Ibid.*

MICHEL FRIDIEFF. France et Russie devant l'opinion publique française, 1842-1847. *Monde slave*, 1937, no. 10.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Current Research Projects dealing with Subjects relating to the Pacific Area, 1937-1938. (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1937, pp. 37, 10 cents.) The increasing number of studies relating to the Pacific area is disclosed in this pamphlet. Over two hundred different studies by nearly as many individuals are listed together with the names of the institutions where the studies were launched or are being carried forward. The usefulness of the list would have been enhanced by indicating which projects were being undertaken to fulfill rquirements for the M.A. or Ph.D. degrees. While admittedly incomplete, this is an indispensable aid for those interested in the Pacific area and particularly for those guiding the research of students in this field, enabling them as it does to prevent duplication of effort.

I. P. R. Bibliographies: Experimental Bibliographical Service covering Representative Periodicals in the Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Dutch Languages, with Special Reference to Problems of the Pacific Area. (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1937, pp. 39.) This pamphlet contains historical and descriptive accounts of a number of leading Chinese, Japanese, Netherlandish, and Russian journals, followed by digests of representative articles and book reviews to be found in them. The value of the digests would be enhanced if they could as a rule be made fuller. It is to be hoped that the Institute of Pacific Relations will be able to develop this experimental undertaking into a regular periodic service providing specialists in the field with information as to the work of scholars writing in these languages.

Catalogue of the K.B.S. Library. (Tokyo, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1937, pp. xxi, 203.) This new catalogue is a classified list of books and articles in Western languages relating to Japan. It was compiled from the new library of the Society for International Cultural Relations (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai) of Tokyo and will be a useful guide to many of the important works relating to Japan. It is especially valuable because of its careful compilation, elaborate subdivision by subject, and complete index. HUGH BORTON.

K.B.S. Bibliographical Register of Important Works written in Japanese on Japan and the Far East published during the Year 1932. (Tokyo, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1937, pp. vii, 166.) This is the first of a series of registers to be published annually on works in the humanities by the Society for International Cultural Relations in Tokyo. As the interval between the years of publication of the original works and the appearance of the *Register* diminishes, the work will be of even more value. Of especial importance to Western scholars is the fact that all authors and titles of books quoted in the *Register* are given in both their romanized and Japanese form, and each title is accompanied by its English equivalent. The subject classification, as well as an author index, will enable the English reader to obtain information readily.
HUGH BORTON.

Aliens in the East: A New History of Japan's Foreign Intercourse. By HARRY EMERSON WILDES. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. vi, 360, $3.00.) This volume, in spite of its subtitle, is not a new history of Japan's foreign relations but an amusing popular summary of the experiences, particularly the grievances, of the Europeans and Americans who, by inten-

tion or accident, visited Japan between the Portuguese discovery of the islands in 1543 and the Meiji Restoration of 1867-68. In *Aliens in the East* Dr. Wildes attempts to establish long historical precedent for the egotism, antiforeignism, and corruption which, in two earlier works, *Social Currents in Japan* (1927) and *Japan in Crisis* (1934), he deplored as typical characteristics of contemporary Japan. It is implied that writers who minimize these faults after having studied the original Japanese sources, most of which the author neglects, have been the dupes of a Japanese conspiracy to deceive foreigners. Dr. Wildes avoids being thus hoodwinked by relying for his facts, and sometimes for his spelling, on the writings of Western traders, whalers, and adventurers. This method has the further advantage of making a study of Japanese unnecessary. Presumably it was neither a language barrier nor fear of Japanese propaganda which prevented any reference to the series *Foreign Relations of the United States* or to Tyler Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia*. Dr. Wildes has re-emphasized the incompleteness of Japan's isolation, which, although long understood by scholars, has never been adequately realized in some quarters. In making this contribution he has gathered together many interesting and entertaining details on early visitors to Japan. It is, accordingly, all the more regrettable that the absence of footnotes hampers discriminating appreciation of both his assiduity and his imagination.

CHARLES B. FAHS.

A History of the Modern and Contemporary Far East: A Survey of Western Contacts with Eastern Asia during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. By PAUL HIBBERT CLYDE. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1937, pp. xix, 858, $4.50.) This is not a general history, as the title on the cover would lead one to expect, but is, rather, a history of nineteenth century Western imperialism in the Far East and of general international relations in the Far East during the twentieth century, written primarily from the Westerner's point of view. Insufficient effort has been made to incorporate material from Far Eastern sources, both facts and interpretations too often being derived from the one-sided accounts of diplomatic and consular representatives of Western governments or from secondary works based largely upon them. It is high time that American historians of Far Eastern international relations begin to take cognizance of the large amount of important official and unofficial material which has been published in the Orient—particularly in China; the most unfortunate thing about a book of this kind is that it will be used as a textbook by teachers and students who are unaware of its shortcomings in this respect. As might be expected where so long a period of time is covered, the various sections into which the book is divided are somewhat uneven in quality, Professor Clyde showing rather greater familiarity with recent events than with those of the nineteenth century and earlier. To his credit is his success in eliminating a great deal of the miscellaneous factual material of minor importance with which many earlier works of this nature are filled. The basis for choice of the books and articles listed in the selected bibliographies at the ends of chapters is somewhat puzzling, for many works of very questionable value are included whereas a number of important studies have been omitted.

KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF.

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R. Dalet. Dix-huit mois de recherches archéologiques au Cambodge. *Ibid.*

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F. S. Drake. Nestorian Monasteries of the T'ang Dynasty and the Site of the Nestorian Tablet. *Monumenta Serica,* II.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

General

European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies. Edited in continuation of the work of the late Frances Gardiner Davenport by Charles Oscar Paullin. Volume IV, *1716-1815*. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1937, pp. viii, 222, $2.25.) This volume lacks the scholarly introductions and bibliographies accompanying the documents in its predecessors in this work. It is, nevertheless, a welcome and convenient collection of basic texts for the diplomatic history of North America between the Peace of Utrecht and the Congress of Vienna. Mr. Paullin has wisely included a number of documents which, while genuine international agreements, are not, strictly speaking, treaties. It is to be regretted that the informal Anglo-French agreement of 1730, providing for the "neutrality" of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica, has been overlooked and that, apparently because it was not ratified, the Sanchez-Oglethorpe agreement of 1736, relative to the Georgia-Florida boundary, has been omitted. The most striking fact presented by these documents is the importance of America in eighteenth century European diplomacy. Louisbourg, in 1748, was a makeweight for French concessions to England on the continent of Europe (p. 74); Louisiana, in 1800, was a *quid pro quo* for the enlargement of the estates of the Duke of Parma (p. 181). But the American colonies of England, France, and Spain loomed large in the diplomacy of those countries because the colonies were important in their own right and because there was an American balance of colonial power to be maintained. The Seven Years' War between England and France (later joined by Spain) was fought chiefly to decide where the boundary line should be between the French and British empires in North America and to maintain that balance of colonial power. More territory changed hands by the Treaty of Paris, which settled those problems, than by any other treaty relative to America, before or since. In this case, at least, American considerations were the determinants, rather than the "stakes", of European diplomacy. Max Savelle.

References on Agricultural History as a Field for Research. By Everett E. Edwards. (Washington, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, mimeographed, 1937, pp. 41.)

Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Agriculture. By Everett E. Edwards. (*Ibid.*, pp. 102.)

The Response of Government to Agriculture. By Arthur P. Chew. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. 107.) The second work listed above consists of selections from the writings of three Presidents (with introductory notes by the compiler), presenting their views on the place of agriculture in the life of the nation, their farming experiences, and the contemporaneous agricultural conditions. The third work, as stated on the titlepage, is "an account of the origin and development of the United States Department of Agriculture, on the occasion of its 75th anniversary".

Our Rude Forefathers: American Political Verse, 1783-1788. By Louie M. Miner. (Cedar Rapids, Torch Press, 1937, pp. viii, 274, $3.00.) The student of American literature will discover in this book a melancholy confirmation of his misgivings concerning authentic poetry in the years immediately following the Revolution. Miss Miner studies the important figures, such as the Connecticut

Wits and Freneau, only incidentally, and in comparison with the writers of this newspaper doggerel, these minor poets seem giants indeed! Perhaps, however, such an exhaustive study of the subsoil of our literature is needed, to make us understand in perspective the vogue which our eighteenth century men of letters enjoyed in their own day. In this carefully documented volume many an obscure actor in the exciting political drama re-enters the stage; many a passion tormenting our forefathers, as they strove to found their republic, is torn to tatters by an angry voter in his communication to his local journal; and many an issue revived by Miss Miner's exhumations has a curiously familiar appearance. Perhaps the quality of the verse as well as the recurrent nature of these problems in a democracy may be illustrated by the lines:

> PRAY what occasions this confusion?
> Is it the Federal constitution?
> Will people now run all distracted
> At what the great Convention's acted?

Miss Miner was wise to imbed this ephemeral poetry in a framework of intelligent commentary; if her jewels are paste, her setting is good metal. Chapter by chapter, with this halting verse as evidence, she takes us through vital post-Revolutionary moods: anti-Toryism, financial anxiety, fear of the legal profession, etc. It is a tough book, no food for dilettantes, but it is full of illuminating side glances at the hopes and fears of those who lived with the founders of the nation. STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

The Man who wrote the Constitution. (Washington, United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, 1937, pp. 12.) A minor question respecting the Constitution of the United States, but one which has puzzled many an eager inquirer, has been, whose was the pen that engrossed the Constitution? After several years of probing, Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick has solved the puzzle. It was Jacob Shallus of Philadelphia. The story of the search is told in this pamphlet. Other recent issues of the Commission are: *Georgia and the Constitution* by E. Merton Coulter (pp. 14) and *Broadsides relating to the Constitution* [etc.] (pp. 12), a bibliographical contribution.

The Constitution of the United States: Its Origin, Formation, and Adoption, as set forth in an Exhibit of Books, Pamphlets, and Documents from the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, display'd in Commemoration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its Signing on September 17, 1787. (Philadelphia, the Society, 1937, pp. 35.) By way of preface, this includes an excellent historical essay by Julian P. Boyd, librarian, on the making of the Constitution.

The United States Army in War and Peace. By OLIVER LYMAN SPAULDING. (New York, Putnam's, 1937, pp. xi, 541, $6.00.) Colonel Spaulding presents, in a single volume, a history of the army from colonial times to the reorganization of 1920. More than half of the text is devoted to narratives of the wars the army has been engaged in, but its development is followed during the intervening periods of peace, so that the book forms a continuous record. In his preface the author observes that "the history of the army is not the same thing as the military history of the United States. . . . In military history, military operations are the primary consideration. . . . In the history of the Army the reverse is the case. The fundamental problem is to trace the development of the Army, its physical and spiritual growth." This is a sound principle, only

too commonly ignored, but some readers will regret that Colonel Spaulding has not made military operations more subordinate to the other aspects of the subject—one in which he is a particularly competent authority. It is true that the factor of organization and expansion is not left out of account in the war-time narratives, and the appendix offers a useful aid to historical students. In a few concise tables it gives the composition of the army in the more important phases of each war and the distribution of forces in intervening periods of peace. T. H. THOMAS.

A Guide to the Resources of the American Antiquarian Society: A National Library of American History. By R. W. G. VAIL. (Worcester, the Society, 1937, pp. 98.) The story of the society's founding in 1812 by Isaiah Thomas and its growth from small beginnings to a great reservoir of source material for American history, with some indications of the scope and character of its collections, is here told by the librarian. There are numerous facsimiles and other illustrations.

The Romantic Decatur. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. 296, $3.00.) This biography lends itself to characterization. It is factual, not imaginative; scholarly, not popular; objective, not subjective. The romantic Decatur has not inspired a romantic biography. The author truly says that he has not intermingled the facts of history with the fancies of fiction and that he has taken pains "by the use of official reports, personal letters, diaries, and contemporary newspapers to give that vitality and realism to the past which some writers attempt in vain to create largely by the imagination". His frequent quotations, extensive bibliography, and informing notes assure the reader that the narrative rests upon secure foundations. An anthology of songs and poems about Decatur is included. The three periods that have afforded American naval officers the greatest opportunity for professional distinction are the Revolution, 1775-1783; the Barbary and other wars, 1798-1816; and the Civil War, 1861-1865. The dates of the second period are those of Decatur's active services, which form the chief subject matter of Professor Lewis's book. For a test of his impartiality one turns to his account of the loss of the *President*. He stands the test admirably and does not, like many biographers, gloss over the misfortunes of the hero. The words of Theodore Roosevelt and Admiral Mahan adverse to Decatur are quoted at length. The last two chapters deal with the fatal duel and are the best of the many acounts of it. CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

The Filibuster: The Career of William Walker. By LAURENCE GREENE. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1937, pp. 350, $3.50.) Mr. Laurence Greene has written an interesting and generally accurate account of the remarkable filibustering career of William Walker, the "gray-eyed man of destiny". More than this he does not claim. The book is not a product of original research. Walker's own narrative, *The War in Nicaragua* (1860), has been freely drawn upon, as have also the accounts of several of Walker's lieutenants, but Mr. Greene's chief reliance, as he acknowledges, has been upon Mr. W. O. Scroggs's *Filibusters and Financiers* (1916). The reviewer has found no important point in which Mr. Greene departs from or adds to Mr. Scroggs's interpretation, and at least one significant fact mentioned by Scroggs is omitted, namely, the visit of Pierre Soulé to Nicaragua just before Walker issued his decree re-establishing slavery. Mr. Greene hints here and there at abnormal psychological elements in Walker's composition but does not develop the point. He emphasizes more

than did Scroggs Walker's military blunders, but the facts about these were all in the Scroggs volume for whoever sought them. The figure that emerges from the new biography is that already familiar to students of the subject—an unimpressive little man, great only in his ambition, his personal courage, his imperturbability, and his power to command, for a while at least, the loyalty of his followers; weak in all the higher qualities of statesmanship and of military capacity; a man who, if his intelligence had matched his courage and determination, might conceivably have brought order and prosperity to Central America. In popularizing the story of this little-known missionary of manifest destiny Mr. Greene has performed a useful service for the general reader. JULIUS W. PRATT.

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Volume V, *Cases from the Courts of States North of the Ohio and West of the Mississippi Rivers, Canada and Jamaica.* Edited by the late HELEN TUNNICLIFF CATTERALL. With additions by JAMES J. HAYDEN. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1937, pp. viii, 386, $3.00.) This volume brings to completion a monumental task planned some fifteen years ago by the late J. Franklin Jameson and executed with commendable scholarship by Mrs. Catterall until her death in 1933 necessitated the supplemental work of Professor Hayden. The value of these five volumes to specialists in Southern history, economic principles, and race relations cannot be overestimated. If no other sources were available, one could write from them a creditable essay upon the institution of slavery in America, with a by-product of pertinent notes on free Negroes, planters, merchants, overseers, slave traders, public carriers, and a hundred and one other subjects. It would be difficult to find a single phase of slavery or Negro life that does not find multiplicity of illustration. Approximately a third of the present volume consists of Missouri cases. Most numerous among them are suits for freedom, including those of Dred Scott. Arkansas and Texas cases, which occupy slightly less than a third of the space, contain more usable material on slave prices and hiring than is found elsewhere in the series. The illegal and fraudulent removal of mortgaged and trust slaves to Texas from other Southern states is nowhere else so well illustrated. Cases from the free states of the upper Mississippi Valley involve mainly fugitive slaves and Negro children who sought to attend white schools. The few cases from California reveal a moderate attitude toward the institution; the Canadian material is chiefly of value for a history of slavery in that British colony (quoted from a Missouri report of 1857); and cases from Jamaica, 1774-87, show that slavery there was quite analogous to the institution in the Southern states. WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, from the Army of the Potomac, 1863-1865. Edited by HENRIETTA STRATTON JACQUETTE. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. xiii, 173, $2.00.) The author of these letters was a twenty-three year old Quaker from South Jersey who became a volunteer nurse immediately after the battle of Gettysburg and continued in that capacity until Lee's surrender. Cornelia Hancock was resourceful, competent, spirited; her work, which one officer compared with that of Florence Nightingale, won many tributes from surgeons and soldiers. Her letters are characterized by an unusual objectivity and richness of graphic detail. Yet in spite of the satisfaction which she took in her adventures and in her humanitarian contribution, she could write, "I do not care what anyone says, war is

humbug". Probably the chief value of the letters for most historians will be found in the light which they throw on the psychology of soldiers, surgeons, and relief workers in war time. But they also enrich our knowledge of the sanitary corps and of the organization of relief work on the battlefield and behind the lines. The letters should take their place with such autobiographies as Mary Livermore's *My Story of the War.* MERLE CURTI.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Biographical Sketches of Those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1701-1712, with Bibliographical and other Notes. By CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates.] (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937, pp. xii, 710, $5.00.) This volume deals with an interesting group of Harvard graduates, most of whom played recognizable parts in the rapidly changing cultural life of New England in the fifty years before 1765 and helped to prepare for still more revolutionary events later. Though many were ministers,

not all of these were representatives of a dominant orthodoxy; Elisha Callender, class of 1710, became minister of the Baptist church in Boston, and Timothy Cutler left the rectorship of Yale to become an Anglican. Others were merchants, held government posts, or in other ways made their mark in a community in which secular interests were rapidly gaining ground. The sketches are written with liveliness and an obvious effort toward rounded portraiture. Readers will be grateful for Mr. Shipton's literary pains. But the genealogist, the bibliographer, and the historian or biographer are likely to value the bare facts more than the style and to wish now and then for more precise and explicit statements. The editorial committee might well supply future volumes with more notes or return to the original plan of giving at the end of each "life" a list of the authorities used. If necessary, some space could be saved by pruning the biographies themselves, sacrificing something of the literary effect but including all the relevant data. This would be a high price to pay, for anyone wishing to read the *Harvard Graduates* as a collection of biographical essays, but it would not be grudged by the far greater number who, perforce, come to Sibley not for good writing but for specific information.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier. By THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xvi, 692, $8.00.) This substantial volume is more than a technical performance of distinction in the field of bibliography. It is also an encyclopedic record of what Mr. Currier refers to modestly as a "pilgrimage through Whittier-land". In these regions he was an expert traveler, for he brought back not only the orderly, classified details in the literary life of this voluminous writer, but he retrieved as well biographical facts, legends, and bits of New England lore. Thus he has made his book very nearly the only bibliography in Americana in which one may find the necessary fact for the lecture or article, or merely browse. This may sound extravagant. The primary service of this book is to aid collectors, bibliographers, and investigators in American literature. Yet the author's descriptions, to refer to one type of his literary embroidery, in connection with particular poems, are often excellent reading in themselves. This is to say that for Mr. Currier "Whittier-land" does not mean merely topography; it is a place of landscapes and persons. Such is perhaps a roundabout way of saying that Mr. Currier, aided by his long experience as a librarian, has been able to write a bibliography which may serve as a manual for collectors and also as an informative book on the poet himself. Some bibliographies interest only bibliographers or collectors; others are not in the true sense bibliographies but check-lists to aid the everyday student and investigator. Mr. Currier's volume will be valuable to both collectors and investigators. In addition, it will definitely alter or modify in the minds of even lay readers various current conceptions of Whittier by the revelation, for example, of the enormous quantity of his prose. The future biographer of Whittier will begin where Mr. Currier has finished; the future bibliographer of Whittier will never, I prophesy, appear. There will be nothing for him to do.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

Migration from Vermont, 1776-1860. By LEWIS D. STILLWELL. [*Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society.] (Montpelier, the Society, 1937, pp. 186, 75 cents.) This is a study of a frontier in reverse. For Vermont was a frontier, to which, for some thirty years or more, a stream of migration flowed—until the banks gave way and the streams of population spread elsewhere. The

reverse movement set in about 1808, soon attaining to a good-sized stream and after 1830 to a veritable flood. The causes of this drainage of population from Vermont through half a century and more were many and varied. Among the earlier contributory forces were the embargo policy of 1808, the War of 1812, the cold season of 1816, the depletion of Vermont's natural resources (the timber supply, in particular). Later the railroads stimulated the movement, as did the discovery of gold in California. Twice at least the lowly sheep, in different ways, set Vermonters on the trek. Strange as it may be, religion and tuberculosis (in unrelated ways) had their influences for migration. For the most part the movement was westward, but a rather extraordinary migration of Vermonters was to regions below Mason and Dixon's Line. Professor Stillwell has gathered his materials from every conceivable source and has woven them into an exceedingly interesting story, a story, albeit, with a somber tone, with an all but tragic denouement.

Lantern Slides. By MARY CADWALADER JONES. (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1937, pp. vii, 128.) It is to be wished that Mrs. Cadwalader Jones had yielded earlier to those who urged her to write her reminiscences, for she had an experiencing nature, and it was her good fortune to know many interesting people—among them, Henry Adams, Marion Crawford, Henry James, Theodore Roosevelt, and Edith Wharton, who was her sister-in-law. To cultivated tastes and social grace this daughter of the aristocracy of old Philadelphia added, moreover, an authentic sense of humor. Only the opening chapters of her autobiography, unfortunately, were written, mainly in the last five years of her life when she was over eighty. They leave off with her honeymoon, in 1870, before she began her long residence in New York. This fragment, dedicated to her daughter and son-in-law, Beatrix and Max Farrand, who "pleased and teased" her into writing it, is fragrant with the aroma of Philadelphia during the years of her girlhood in the 50's and 60's of the last century. There is "material" here for the social historian, and for those who cherish the English language there is a fine and delicate literary sensibility.

James Talcott, Merchant, and his Times. By WILLIAM HURD HILLYER. (New York, Scribner's, 1937, pp. viii, 197, $3.00.) This book has not a little value in spite of its shortcomings. The author wrote with insufficient familiarity with the business conditions in which Talcott worked and, apparently through no fault of his own, from inadequate sources on the merchant himself. But he has done a real service in that out of fragmentary material, which might never have come into the hands of another researcher, he has drawn an interesting portrait which has meaning for both the social and the business historian. The special value of this volume comes from the fact that it gives some information on a neglected type in American business history, that important but much criticized middleman who formed the link between producer and consumer. Talcott was one of that class of middlemen which stood between the manufacturer and the wholesaler. As a very young man he had in 1854 come to New York to sell the product of a Connecticut woolen mill, and in a few years he was well established as a textile or dry-goods commission merchant. The Civil War gave him the opportunity to build a large business and to make great profits. Like others in the field of consumers' goods, Talcott successfully weathered the panic and depression years which followed the war. As time passed, however, his services changed. He came to make advances to the manufacturer on goods consigned to himself and to guarantee the solvency

of buyers. As new functions were taken on, old ones were sloughed off. By the end of the century the manufacturer was selling his own product, while Talcott financed his production, guaranteed credit risks, and made collections. This development points to fundamental changes not only in market distribution but also in American business in general. HENRIETTA M. LARSON.

Studies in Massachusetts Town Finance. By EUGENE E. OAKES. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. 237, $2.50.) This book presents case studies of town-meeting finance in nine Massachusetts communities during a period of marked industrial and population change. The studies have local and historical interest, but they will engage the attention of readers chiefly for the light they throw on questions of finance and administration. They describe the difficulty of making a fair adjustment of tax benefits to tax burdens even in small areas and show how the resulting controversies often determine the boundaries of political subdivisions. They also illustrate the more elusive difficulty of distributing such benefits and burdens between wealthier and poorer sections of the same community so as to reconcile prudent finance with social needs. To the reviewer they seem to show—though this is no novelty in such investigations—the diminishing equity in our present industrial society of the direct property tax and the growing inadequacy of local fiscal administration to serve modern needs. Nevertheless many of these "pure democracies", where taxpayers vote directly how much they are to pay for local objects and what these objects shall be, have carried on successfully to date. Let us hope they will survive. The author's competent analysis may contribute to that end. VICTOR S. CLARK.

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Southern Colonies and States

Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present. By June Purcell Guild. (Richmond, Whittet and Shepperson, 1936, pp. 249, $2.00.) Mrs. Guild has painstakingly gathered together all the laws directly or indirectly affecting Negroes in Virginia from the beginning of our history to the present. She has grouped these laws about the struggle for racial integrity, servants and slaves, 1623-1798, slaves in the nineteenth century, free persons of color and slaves, taxes, civil rights and the duties of Negroes and others, criminal law and the Negro, the development of free compulsory education for Negroes and whites, war and the Negro, and abolition and emancipation. The book is a valuable collection of source material for the social and economic history of one state and of the Negro, and it has the added value of interest and profit for the general student or layman as well as for the specialist. Howard K. Beale.

John Carlisle Kilgo, President of Trinity College, 1894-1910. By Paul Neff Garber. (Durham, Duke University, 1937, pp. xi, 412, $3.00.) This is the story of the crusading president of a small Southern Methodist college who made a heroic fight for its freedom. The fight turned on an article by John Spencer Bassett, "Stirring up the Fires of Race Antipathy", in which the author applauded Booker T. Washington. There was heavy pressure on the trustees from many interests in North Carolina. Editorials attacked Kilgo, distorted Bassett's language and real position, and ridiculed both men. Trinity's faculty signed a strong public statement and stood by Kilgo, who, always eloquent and compelling, made the pre-eminent speech of his life. "Bury liberty here, and with it the college is buried", he said, when the trustees met to consider Bassett's resignation. They voted eighteen to seven not to accept it. Kilgo had in his pocket at the time his own resignation and that of each member of his faculty. The decision represents a significant triumph for academic freedom in this country. Edgar W. Knight.

Louisiana State University, 1860-1896. By Walter L. Fleming. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1936, pp. x, 499, $3.00.) This scholarly narrative of the early history of Louisiana State University stands apart from the many anecdotal and eulogistic accounts of higher institutions published in this country. It was written by a recognized historian of the orthodox school, a fact which is apparent in its strength and its weakness. The history of the long-continued struggle of this "state seminary of learning" is told with painstaking care and in accurate detail, and Dr. Fleming's account, in contrast with E. W. Fay's earlier and perhaps more suggestive work, is based on a thorough study of primary sources. One looks in vain, however, for that sharper and more

penetrating delineation of institutional development possible only to the historian who gives adequate attention to the social and economic forces which have influenced the growth of our colleges and universities. Surely such forces must have entered into the making of an institution and a state which recently responded to the sensational leadership of Huey Long. DONALD G. TEWKSBURY.

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Western Territories and States

L'Odyssée américaine d'une famille française: Le docteur Antoine Saugrain. By H. Fouré Selter. [Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1936, pp. ix, 123.) The diary of Dr. Saugrain's journey down the Ohio Valley in 1788, previously translated by Eugene F. Bliss in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings* (XI, 369; XIX, 221), is here published for the first time in the original language. As an introduction to Saugrain's lively and exciting narrative Mrs. Selter has outlined his entire career. This young Parisian bourgeois, a scientist and doctor, returned to America in 1790 as one of the Scioto settlers, lingered at Gallipolis until 1796, moved to Kentucky, and finally settled in St. Louis, where he lived from 1800 until his death in 1820. He was something of a scientific Johnny Appleseed, distributing generously and smilingly his handiwork and his knowledge. The thermometers, barometers, and phosphorous matches of "the little French doctor" were widely known; his electric machine mystified and delighted the curious. He analyzed the samples of ore that were brought to him, vaccinated the indigent without charge, and furnished some of the scientific apparatus for the Lewis and Clark expedition. The volume also contains letters written by Saugrain's sister-in-law, Sophie Michau Robinson, who came to Gallipolis as a child of four. Although she never returned to France, her letters in French, written between 1817 and 1828, have something of that easy grace that still characterizes the everyday letters of so many French women and are interesting evidence of the persistency and vitality of the writer's ancestral heritage in an alien environment. They refer to the affairs of her adventurous American husband, John Hamilton Robinson, a member of Pike's exploring party, who later joined filibustering expeditions into Mexico. Sophie Michau and Antoine Saugrain do not conform to the conventional patterns of pioneers. In presenting these very human portraits Mrs. Selter has contributed to an understanding of the diversity of frontier types. Howard C. Rice.

They broke the Prairie: Being Some Account of the Settlement of the Upper Mississippi Valley by Religious and Educational Pioneers, told in Terms of One City, Galesburg, and of One College, Knox. By Earnest Elmo Calkins. (New York, Charles Scribner's, 1937, pp. xi, 451, $2.50.) Civilization in transit has recently proved an attractive theme to historians, biographers, journalists, and the public, who have read of "culture in knapsacks" and in other things. This book, by a retired advertising manager and littérateur, concerns culture in Bibles, being the story of a God-fearing objective and its struggle for fulfillment. George Washington Gale was one of those fervent Americans who during the eighteen thirties dreamed of establishing "on the clean prairie a

new city, without spot or blemish, a sort of immaculate conception" (p. 102). A Galesburg almost equidistant from the Mississippi and Illinois rivers should be safe from the worldliness of commercial river towns and should attract a select, churchly student body to adorn and support an institution fit to nourish and educate straitlaced ministers in the Presbyterian and Congregational faiths—Knox College. But Gale and his friends had not calculated on the influence of covered wagons and railroad trains. The new town was on a main east-west trail, which brought past its doors daily (including Sundays) motley aggregations of men, women, and children, and thereafter Galesburg became a rail center on the main tracks of a transcontinental line. While churchmen struggled bitterly over Presbyterian control of the college, while Galesburg fought Knoxville over the county seat, the college, the town, and the hinterland changed their character. The struggles and the changes are here described in many of their moral, social, political, psychological, and economic bearings. Historians may wish for a few more dates, genealogists for clearer family tracings; students of religion may detect undue stress upon puritanical faults; casual readers may note repetition and the slips which hasty publication leaves uncorrected. But all will enjoy and appreciate the felicity of phrase, humor, and broad understanding which animate this case history in the development of an American community. JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS.

The Reverend Richard Fish Cadle, a Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Territories of Michigan and Wisconsin in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Biographical Study. By HOWARD GREENE. Elizabeth Pruessing, research assistant. (Waukesha, Davis-Greene Corporation, 1936, pp. xviii, 165.) This is an account of the beginnings of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Michigan and Wisconsin, gathered about the life of one of the earliest missionaries in that region, Richard Fish Cadle. Beginning his missionary career at Detróit in 1824, Cadle, a timid, modest, and retiring man of moderate abilities, later founded churches at Green Bay and Prairie Du Chien and also itinerated widely over the whole region. He was the first head of Neshota House, though he was entirely out of sympathy with the "Oxfordized" young clergymen from the East who were associated with him in its establishment. His missionary career in the West ended in 1844 as a result of unjust charges made against him by one of the missionary officials in the East. Cadle was closely associated with Bishop Jackson Kemper, the first Episcopal missionary bishop, and was perhaps the bishop's most influential early helper. Though based on careful research, the biography is too parochial to have any large historical significance. W. W. SWEET.

U. S. Soldiers invade Utah. By E. CECIL MCGAVIN. (Boston, Meador, 1937, pp. 299, $2.00.) In 1857 President Buchanan appointed new officials for Utah Territory and dispatched an army to enforce the Federal authority there. Brigham Young, territorial governor and *de facto* dictator of Utah, denounced the President's measures and embodied a Mormon army to resist the American "invasion". If language has any meaning, the people of Utah were in a state of rebellion against the government of the United States. In the end, both Buchanan and Young ate crow; the President weakly compromised with the rebellious Mormons, while the governor permitted the peaceful entrance of the army into Utah. The present volume relates the story of this affair. It discloses no trace of objective scholarship, whose meaning the author obviously

does not comprehend. Instead, it reflects the tone of the contemporary combatant, keyed to an exalted pitch in his war upon the despoilers of God's chosen people. These generalizations find illustration on practically every page of the narrative. The Saints were always right, their opponents always wrong. The "God of Heaven" fought on their side against the army of the United States (pp. 119, 244-45, etc.). That army was a "mob", and "lust for filthy lucre" was the sole motive animating its members (pp. 58, 73, etc.). The volunteer enrollment of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War was a measure of brutal tyranny (p. 22, etc.). A chapter devoted to the Mountain Meadows Massacre concedes that for once the Saints did wrong, but the evidence adduced in the effort to clear Governor Young of responsibility for the horrible crime points strongly toward his guilt. The reader is twice asked to believe that only "a few men in Utah" practiced polygamy (pp. 237, 252). He learns that all American Presidents except Van Buren and Buchanan have been admitted to the Valhalla of the Saints (p. 298), but he is not told how Polk and Taylor, who on page 74 are left "weltering in hell", achieved the transformation. M. M. QUAIFE.

Le voyage de Lapérouse sur les côtes de l'Alaska et la Californie. With an Introduction and Notes by GILBERT CHINARD. [Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. xlix, 144, $3.00.) Rarely does California miss an opportunity to celebrate anniversaries, but last year the 150th anniversary of the visit of a French expedition under Comte de La Pérouse seems to have passed unnoticed. This account of his stay, from September 15 to 24, 1786, reprinted from the original French text of 1797, is a somewhat belated but nevertheless welcome reminder, although an English translation would have been more acceptable. After all, this was the first expedition other than Spanish to reach our Western coast, except possibly that of Sir Francis Drake, and the accounts sent home by La Pérouse furnish an interesting commentary on the state of at least one mission and one presidio after some sixteen years of Spanish rule. The mission system comes in for some criticism, on the whole friendly because La Pérouse recognized the wholehearted devotion of the missionaries, but he thought that they were neglecting the introduction of the arts of civilization. The management and civilizing of the natives presented peculiar difficulties of which La Pérouse was little aware, and the mission system, as developed by the Franciscans, was better adapted to conditions than any mere casual visitor could appreciate. La Pérouse started a controversy over this matter which is not yet settled and probably never will be. Mr. Chinard in his introduction has included long extracts from the instructions issued to La Pérouse and has prefixed to his account of Monterey that of the visit to the Northwest coast. HENRY R. WAGNER.

The Life and Adventures of George Nidever, 1802-1883. Edited by WILLIAM HENRY ELLISON. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. xi, 128, $2.00.) George Nidever did not attain the fame of Kit Carson, Thomas Fitzpatrick, or Jedediah Smith. His experiences as a mountain man were nearer the average and justify the suggestion that he was typical of the fur-trapping fraternity. In 1830 he joined a hunting expedition which led him up the Arkansas and into New Mexico, thence to the Platte and the Green River, and four years later to California. Then followed sea otter and grizzly bear hunting, an unsuccessful venture in gold mining, marriage to Sinforosa Sánchez of

Santa Barbara, and nearly half a century of quiet residence there. Emerson was one of the first to extol Nidever, quoting in his essay on "Courage" a sentimental ballad inspired by a Nidever scrape with one bullet and two grizzlies. Professor Ellison has enlarged the portrait by contributions to the second volume of *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* and to the *Pacific Historical Review*. In this book, however, is published for the first time the full text of Nidever's "Recollections of His Life" as dictated to one of Bancroft's secretaries in 1878. The document is suitably introduced and illustrated, and the editor's notes are most illuminating. JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

The History of Occidental College, 1887-1937. By ROBERT GLASS CLELAND. (Los Angeles, Occidental College, 1937, pp. xiii, 115, $2.50.) This account of Occidental College has been written by one of its graduates who has served as "professor, dean, vice-president, and custodian of the liberties and traditions of the college". He does not treat the college as an isolated community but shows how its history has been tied up with the social, economic, and religious life of California and the nation.

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E. Restrepo Sáenz. Respuesta á una consulta sobre la influencia de la administración López (José Hilario) en la expulsion de los Jesuitas del Ecuador, sobre la llamada polonización de dicha república y sobre la batalla de Tulcan y sus antecedentes. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Nov.

Arancel que deben guardar los alguaciles mayores de corte, y ciudad de Santafe, y sus tenientes, ministros de vara, alcaydes de las carceles de corte, ciudad, y divorcio o de mugeres, pregonero y verdugo, January 4, 1796. *Rev. Arch. Nac.*, nos. 15-18.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE PHILADELPHIA MEETING

Again we have to record a record-breaking attendance at an annual meeting of the Association. The total registration at Philadelphia last December was 1112, which exceeded the previous record figure (at Providence in December, 1936) by 156. Ten other societies met concurrently with the Association: the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Society of Church History, the American Catholic Historical Association, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the National Council for the Social Studies, the Society of American Archivists, the Bibliographical Society of America, and the Southern History Association.

As planned by the Program Committee, the meeting was a part of the national celebration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the framing and adoption of the Constitution, and the program was built around the Constitution, including its background, its interpretation, and its influence. The following were among the more important addresses and papers presented, exclusive of the Presidential Address delivered by Guy Stanton Ford and published in our last issue: Historiography and the Constitution (Charles A. Beard), Some Rambling Remarks about Constitutions (Carl L. Becker), The Original Nature of the English Representative System (Carl Stephenson), The Fundamental Law behind the Constitution (Charles H. McIlwain), The Appeal to Reason (Roland H. Bainton), European Doctrines of Sovereignty bearing on the Constitution (Robert H. MacIver), Mercantilism: The Old English Pattern of a Controlled Economy (Conyers Read), The Concepts of Democracy and Liberty in Eighteenth Century Europe (Gaetano Salvemini), The Theory of Balanced Government (Stanley Pargellis), What Kind of Judicial Review did the Framers have in Mind? (Edward S. Corwin), The Constitution as America's Social Myth (William Y. Elliott), The Path of Due Process of Law (Walton H. Hamilton), The Constitutional Cult in the Early Nineteenth Century (A. Geoffrey Bruun), Constitutional History and the Higher Law (Henry S. Commager), American Influence on British Federal Systems (W. Menzies Whitelaw). Arrangements for the publication in the near future of the foregoing and other papers read at the meeting have been made by a committee of which Professor Conyers Read is Chairman. In view of this fact the Board of Editors of the *Review* decided that it would be

expedient to depart from precedent by omitting an account of the meeting which would otherwise have been published in the present issue.

At the Business Session, which was held on December 30, two resolutions of interest to all members of the Association were adopted. The first of these was presented by the Council through the Secretary:

Resolved: That the Association approves in principle the development of a procedure whereby the elective members of the Council and the members of the nominating committee be chosen in an election conducted by mail from a list of nominees containing at least two names for each position to be filled, the nominees for these positions to be selected by the nominating committee after as complete a convass as may be feasible of the members of the Association for suggestions, with the proviso that anyone nominated by petition with twenty signatures be included in the list. The Executive Committee is instructed to work out the details of such a procedure and embody them in a proposed amendment to the By-Laws to be submitted to the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

An amendment to this resolution offered by Howard K. Beale and designed to include the Second Vice-President in the resolution was defeated.

The other resolution, introduced by Asa P. Martin of Pennsylvania State College, ran as follows:

Resolved, That the outgoing President and the incoming President of the Association be authorized to appoint a committee on procedure and policy composed of ten members to study the present organization and functions of the Association and to report its findings together with such recommendations as it may see fit to the next annual meeting of the Association.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1936-37

The Executive Council of the Association held one meeting during the year, on December 28 at Philadelphia. The Executive Committee of the Council met twice during the year, on April 4 and November 28.

All of the activities of the Association hereafter to be noted are in general charge of the Executive Secretary, under the immediate direction of the Executive Committee and subject to the general control of the Executive Council.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. During the current year the *Review* has been edited by Professor Robert L. Schuyler from the editorial offices at 535 West 114th Street, New York City. The total cost of maintaining the editorial offices of the *Review* for the year came to $6533.07. The net cost of printing the *Review,* after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses and the Association's share of the profits of publication, amounted to $2545.20, making a total cost of $9078.27, about $2.81 per member or about 56 per cent of our annual receipts from dues. It is to be observed that the share of profits received from the pub-

lishers shows a decrease of about $250 as compared with that of the preceding year, but this is due to an extraordinary increase in publication expenses arising out of a large purchase of paper stock in anticipation of an advancing market. On the other hand, both member subscribers and nonmember subscribers show a gratifying increase. We may hope, therefore, for a decided increase in profits from the *Review* by the next fiscal year.

Volume XLII (October, 1936-July, 1937) of the *Review* carried 890 pages. It contained eleven major articles, including the Presidential Address and an account of the Annual Meeting, of which six were in European history, two in American history, and two in historiography; six shorter articles, among which two were in European history and two in American history; and four documents, two in American history, one in European history, and one in the field of Anglo-American relations. It contained 241 book reviews and 249 book notices.

During the period covered 72 articles were submitted: 41 in American history, 29 in European history, and two in Far Eastern history. Of those in American history, 7 were accepted, 33 rejected, and one is still under consideration. Of those in European history, 8 were accepted, 20 were rejected, and one is still under consideration. Of those in Far Eastern history, one was accepted and one was rejected. Professor Schuyler comments on these figures as follows:

> The most interesting fact shown by these figures is the high death rate among the articles in American history—80.5 per cent as compared with 69 per cent in the European field. This does not necessarily imply that the former are inferior, on the average, to the latter, though I have the impression that this is the case. Occasionally an article in the American field which is up to our standards is rejected on the ground that it would appear more appropriately in the pages of one of the regional historical journals than in ours.

Commission on the Social Studies. The term of this Commission expired on December 29, 1933, with its publication program incomplete. Since then seven volumes planned by the Commission have been published under the general direction of the Executive Secretary. The last of these to appear, W. C. Bagley's *The Teacher of the Social Studies* and Ernest Horn's *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*, both in 1937, complete the publication program of the Commission. Seventeen volumes have been published. Together they constitute what is probably the most important contribution in the whole literature of American pedagogy to the solution of problems arising out of the teaching of the social studies in the secondary schools. It is well known that the work of the Commission was made possible by the generous benevolence of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and it ought to be recorded that while the Carnegie Corporation has given money without stint it has had nothing at all to do

with the publications of the Commission and has never desired in any way to direct the publication policy.

Social Education. *Social Education* began publication in January, 1937, in accordance with the plans outlined a year ago, under the editorship of Erling Hunt in offices contributed rent free by Columbia University. Nine issues will appear each year. The editorial board is appointed by the Council of the A.H.A. except for two members who are named by the National Council for the Social Studies. The Executive Secretary of the A.H.A. is *ex officio* Secretary of the Board of Editors. A contract between the A.H.A. and the American Book Company provides that the Company will print and circulate the magazine and take the responsibility, with the co-operation of the National Council for the Social Studies, for new subscriptions and renewals. An agreement with the National Council for the Social Studies makes *Social Education* the official journal of that organization and provides, when total subscriptions shall exceed 5000, and in any case beginning with 1940, for representation of the National Council on the editorial board of *Social Education* proportionate to the subscribers who are members of the National Council. The Editor of the magazine has assumed responsibility for the sale of advertising, the proceeds of which are all allocated to editorial costs.

Starting with a new magazine one year ago, the subscription list on October 31, 1937, numbered 3436 subscribers, of whom 1855 were members of the National Council for the Social Studies.

The editorial costs of the magazine during the last fiscal year were just under $8000. Advertising returns for 1937 will amount to about $2050, and our share of subscriptions to about $2000. The net cost of the magazine is, therefore, about $4000, which is something less than half of what it was under our old arrangement with the McKinley Company. The difference is explained by the fact that we have derived over $4000 in income from the magazine, whereas under the old arrangement we had no income at all.

The expenses of the magazine are provided for out of a reserve fund set up some years ago which represented an unexpended balance of funds contributed by the Carnegie Corporation to finance the activities of the Commission on the Social Studies. Since then the Council of the A.H.A. has allocated royalties received from the sale of volumes published by the Commission on the Social Studies to the uses of *Social Education*. It appears from the report of the Treasurer that there was a balance standing to the credit of these earmarked funds at the end of the last fiscal year of $11,408.14. The income from royalties during the last fiscal year was $2057.19. If we assume, as we have a right to assume, a steady increase in subscribers to *Social Education*, a very slowly diminishing income from royalties, and no marked increase in editorial expenses, we may conclude

that the funds in reserve will be sufficient to support the magazine for several years to come, or until such time as it gets on a self-supporting basis.

Professor Hunt comments on the general situation as follows:

> On the whole I believe the enterprise is going well, though perhaps I'm in a bad position to judge. I know that from the point of view of the magazine I should give it full time rather than the half it is now getting. . . . Most of our articles . . . need a great deal of editing, not only for brevity and "elegance" but also for the sake of force. We have returned a number of articles to the authors. We still have many in the files, though recently a smaller number has been coming in. There is a persistent demand for articles on classroom "tricks of the trade". It bothers me, for we get little such material, and what we do get isn't very effective. . . . The American Book Company seems to be doing a very good job in a dignified way. They have never made any suggestions about editorial policy. . . . Relations with the National Council are excellent, and the new arrangement seems to be working to the advantage both of the magazine and the Council.

ANNUAL REPORT. The *Proceedings* of the American Historical Association for 1933, 1934, and 1935 have appeared during the year in the *Annual Report* for 1935. Dr. Bernard Mayo's *Instructions from the British Foreign Office to British Ministers in the United States, 1791-1812,* accepted for publication by the Publications Committee last June, is well under way. The sum of $8000 was allocated by the United States government for publications of the A.H.A. for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1937. After payment for *Writings* for 1933 and 1934, now in press, and for *Proceedings* for 1936, now in press, there will be a book credit of about $4500. The Editor proposes to employ this to bring out 1937 *Proceedings* and to print Dr. Mayo's *Instructions from the British Foreign Office.*

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY. The editorial work connected with the publication of the annual bibliography, *Writings on American History,* has heretofore been financed by a fund raised privately by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson. To this fund the Association has generally contributed $600, about one third of the total amount required. Dr. Jameson's death raises the question of the continuation of *Writings.* It constitutes one of the most important publications with which the American Historical Association is connected and it must be continued. The Council proposes for the time being to underwrite the cost of editorial work on *Writings* and to look for continuing support to the same sources as those from which Dr. Jameson drew. But it does not regard this as a satisfactory arrangement. The best possible solution would be a special endowment of, say, $50,000 in the form of a Jameson Memorial Fund, the income of which could be perpetually applied to the publication of *Writings.* This suggestion is commended to the attention of Dr. Jameson's innumerable friends and admirers throughout the country. There was probably no enterprise of the Association which he

had closer at heart, the perpetuation of which he would have more liked to have associated with his name.

The Cumulative Index of *Writings,* being prepared by David M. Matteson, has made relatively little progress during the current year, but Mr. Matteson expects to have much more time for the work next year. It will be remembered that this Cumulative Index is being financed by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Publications. During the year 1937 the committee in charge of these publications has completed plans for the publication of the papers of James G. Birney, which have been edited by D. L. Dumond without expense to the Committee. This work, in two volumes, will appear in the spring of 1938. The projects of Messrs. Monaghan, Perkins, and Easterby, described in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1936, have been delayed but are all nearing completion. The Committee has agreed to print a series of documents illustrating the history of the First Bank of the United States, to be edited by James O. Wettereau of New York University, and a collection of the writings of Christopher Gadsden, revolutionary patriot, to be collected and edited by R. H. Woody of Duke University.

Receipts of the Fund from royalties during the year aggregated $1345.60; from investments, $3930.27. Expenditures aggregated $6479.06. At the end of the fiscal year there was a balance of $13,809.79 standing to the credit of the Fund in the treasury of the Association.

Littleton-Griswold Fund Publications. The committee in charge of these publications has not published anything during the year. Its last volume, *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island,* appeared in December, 1936. It has made definite plans for two further volumes: (1) Reports of the Superior Court of Connecticut, 1772-73, by William Samuel Johnson, to be edited by John T. Farrel. Dean Charles E. Clark of Yale, nationally known as an authority on procedure, has agreed to collaborate with Mr. Farrel in his editorial work. It is hoped that Dean Clark will contribute an introduction to the volume. Editorial work on this volume is well advanced. (2) Minutes of the Supreme Court of West Jersey, 1681-1709, to be edited by Henry Clay Reed of the University of Delaware, in collaboration with George J. Miller, State Director of the Historical Records Survey in New Jersey. A great deal of preliminary editorial work on this volume has been done. Three other publication projects are under consideration: (1) Pennsylvania, Bucks County, Court Minute Book, 1684-1715; (2) Records of the Courts of Admiralty for New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; (3) Records of the County Courts of New Jersey, *ca.* 1683-1715.

It will be recalled that the volumes of this Committee are being published by the American Historical Association through the office of the

Executive Secretary. Sales for the first three volumes of the series, up to October 8, 1937, aggregated as follows: 195 copies of Volume I, *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729;* 178 copies of Volume II, *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674-1784;* 98 copies of Volume III, *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island, 1716-1752.* Total receipts during the fiscal year from sales aggregated $811.50; from income of invested funds, $1042.75; by special contribution from Mrs. F. T. Griswold, $500. Mrs. Griswold has very generously expressed her intention to make a contribution of $1000 a year in addition to the income from the endowment towards the publication expenses of this series for an indeterminate period.

Expenses of the Committee for the fiscal year amounted to $2764.38. There was a balance standing to the credit of the Committee in the treasury of the Association at the end of the fiscal year of $2133.95.

Carnegie Revolving Fund Publications. The Committee in charge of these publications published during the year a life of Albert Gallatin Brown, by J. B. Ranck. *Organization of the English Customs System,* by Elizabeth G. Hoon, is in press. Only one manuscript has been accepted for publication during the year, and that one only on condition that one half of the cost of publication shall be otherwise financed.

The Chairman of the Committee is much disappointed at the character of manuscripts submitted. They represent for the most part two types: (1) long treatises of so many volumes that publication is virtually impossible without a heavier subsidy than we can afford, and (2) treatises of indifferent merit that have been repeatedly rejected by publishers, both commercial and otherwise.

The income of the Fund from royalties during the fiscal year amounted to $1322.32 as compared with $1742.94 the previous year. Total expenditures amounted to $115.73, leaving a balance to the credit of the Fund in the treasury of the Association of $9944.08. Printing bills for the Ranck and the Hoon volumes have not yet been paid. When they are paid the balance will probably be reduced to about $6000. Income from royalties is likely to diminish as time goes on, but it seems probable that there will be enough in this Fund to finance the publication of perhaps one book a year for several years to come.

Bibliography of American Travel. The plans of the Committee in charge of this project were outlined in the last report of the Executive Secretary. It will be recalled that the Committee decided to terminate the bibliography at the year 1860, and to divide the field before that into three parts: the first part to 1750, the second part 1750-1830, the third part 1830-1860. It has induced the Huntington Library to undertake editorial work for the first part, and Mr. Michael Kraus of the College of the City of New York to assume editorial responsibility for the third part. It hopes to

induce Dr. James R. Masterson of Hillsdale, Michigan, who has already done distinguished work on the bibliography of travel in America in the 1770's, to assume editorial responsibility for the second part. But no definite commitments can be made until funds are forthcoming. At least $3000 will be required to prepare the manuscript for the press. With that much in hand work can be begun at once; without it nothing can be done. Efforts are being made through the good offices of the American Council of Learned Societies to secure the necessary funds. A great deal of money has been spent upon the project already, and it would be very unfortunate if it were abandoned now when the prospects of really accomplishing it are bright.

Meanwhile the plans of the Committee for securing the co-operation of foreign governments in preparing bibliographies of their travelers in America are bearing fruit. Mr. Henry Madden, recently returned from Hungary, has generously offered to be responsible for all Hungarian travelers in the United States. A complete bibliography of Japanese travelers in the United States from earliest times to 1900 has been received from the America-Japan Society. The Polish government has supplied voluminous material on Polish travelers in the United States and is prepared to go into any additional field of investigation that we set for it. Arrangements have been completed with the Committee for Belgian Relief Educational Foundation to put to work two very competent scholars on Belgian travelers. There is fair promise of assistance through diplomatic channels from many other countries.

Committee on Historical Source Materials. In accordance with plans outlined in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1936, this Committee has restricted its functions during the current year to planning and advisory work. It has addressed itself specifically to the problem of bringing the manuscript resources of this country under control and has suggested to Dr. Luther H. Evans, National Director of the Historical Records Survey, that a preliminary survey of institutions maintaining manuscript resources be undertaken. The purpose of such a preliminary survey should be two-fold: (1) to assemble the body of data to be used in formulating the program of relief work in accumulating information on manuscript collections, and (2) to assemble the body of data to be used by scholars in determining whether manuscript materials are available for research purposes. The Committee made definite suggestions to Dr. Evans for a plan of procedure to be followed in making such a preliminary survey and pointed out that such a survey might be made the basis for a comprehensive listing of the manuscript collections of this country by relief labor along the lines already followed in the W.P.A. Survey of Federal Archives.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries. During the current year five college libraries have been added to the list of those participating

in the Americana Plan, to wit: Pomona College, California; Albion College, Michigan; Baylor University, Texas; West Kentucky State Teachers College; and Birmingham-Southern College, Alabama. During the year the Committee published a pamphlet entitled *The McGregor Plan for the Encouragement of Book Collecting by American College Libraries* and two catalogues containing lists of all books offered for distribution with critical notes on each entry. During the year the University of Michigan Press has presented to every college participating in the Plan a copy of every book published by the University of Michigan Press still in stock and which the college in question lacked. This gift amounted in the aggregate to $3019.41. Appropriate acknowledgment has been made by the Executive Committee of the A.H.A. Some indication of the popularity of the Plan may be gathered from the fact that 65 colleges have applied for inclusion in it, notwithstanding the fact that the Plan calls for an annual contribution by each participating college of $500.

It ought to be noted that the work of the Committee is much broader than the mere distribution of rare books relating to America. It has to purchase these books where they may be found, it has to collate its purchases carefully, it has to inspect colleges applying for admission to the Plan to make sure that their libraries are properly equipped to take care of rare books, and it often has to instruct librarians in the care of rare books and historians in the use of them. The Director of the Plan spends several weeks every year in visiting participating college libraries, and a great deal of time in corresponding with them. The overhead expenses of operating the Plan may seem large, but as a matter of fact the staff is overworked and already the need for an additional part-time assistant is apparent.

Funds for the operation of the Plan are contributed by the McGregor Fund. At present their annual appropriation amounts to about $15,000 a year. A request has been made to them to increase their appropriation by $2500 in order to enable the Committee to admit five more colleges to participation in the Plan, thus bringing the number of participants up to twenty.

Committee on Radio. The experimental series of radio talks outlined in the report of the Executive Secretary for last year, to finance which the sum of $2000 was contributed by the Keith Fund and the McGregor Fund, was broadcast during the period from mid-January to mid-April, 1937. Twelve talks were given over the Columbia Broadcasting System network. No real effort was made to get "fan mail" because the funds available were not sufficient to take care of such mail in any quantity, or to distribute copies of talks or other material. In spite of that many letters did come in expressing interest in the talks, a desire to read on the subjects broadcast, and a hope that the series would continue. Every letter was answered individually by the Director, bibliographies were suggested, and locations of

libraries indicated. With sufficient money available a very significant educational work could be done in follow-up of the history program.

THE UNION CATALOGUE OF PHILADELPHIA LIBRARIES. This project, sponsored by the A.H.A., is now virtually completed. It is housed at the moment in the building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. At the end of October 2,866,305 cards were filed in it, representing the contents of some 150 libraries in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. The expense of completing it has been borne in part by W.P.A., in part by contributions from the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, and many private benefactors. Plans are in preparation for its permanent housing and permanent service.

It is already being constantly consulted, both by telephone and by mail. It serves as the indispensable medium for all inter-library loans and is being increasingly used, even by commercial and business interests. Every Monday a list comes in from the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress of works requested from their Union Catalogue but not to be found in their files. Every week one tray of cards is sent from Philadelphia to the Library of Congress for checking against the national file. About one third of the Philadelphia cards are not to be found in the national file, and these are copied for the national Union Catalogue. It is apparent that already the Philadelphia regional catalogue is playing an important part in developing the national Union Catalogue at Washington.

Contributing libraries have supported the Philadelphia catalogue excellently in their agreement to furnish cards for continuation. All of the large libraries and most of the small ones send their cards at intervals of three or four months. Some 60,000 cards have come in this way.

One of the most amazing discoveries emerging from the preparation of the catalogue has been that about half the titles of books in the whole Philadelphia area appear in one library only. Nothing could demonstrate more forcibly the value of such a union catalogue in an area which contains many good libraries but no great library.

For further information regarding the technique of the Union Catalogue and its scope, reference may be made to *A Brief Account of the Principles and Formative Period of the Union Library Catalogue in Philadelphia,* prepared by the Director of the project and published in Philadelphia in 1937. A bibliography of works dealing with union catalogues and their making has been prepared by Arthur Berthold of the Union Library Catalogue staff and was published in New York in December, 1936.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION. Four prizes of the A.H.A. were available for award at the December meeting: The Jusserand Medal, the George Louis Beer Prize, the John H. Dunning Prize, and the re-established Justin Winsor Prize. Three of these were awarded: The Jusserand Medal to Professor S. A. Morison of Harvard University for his book, *The Founding*

of Harvard College; the George Louis Beer Prize of $250 to Charles W. Porter III for his book, *The Career of Theophile Delcassé;* the Justin Winsor Prize of $200 to Carl Bridenbaugh for his manuscript entitled *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742.* The John H. Dunning Prize of $200 was not awarded. It is somewhat amazing to discover such a languid interest in the prizes of the Association. Last year only one manuscript was submitted for the George Louis Beer Prize. This year no manuscripts of sufficient merit were submitted for the John H. Dunning Prize. There must be some way of amending this state of affairs. The Executive Council would welcome suggestions from the membership at large.

Bibliography of British History. Many years ago the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain and the American Historical Association joined in a project to publish a bibliography of British History from 1485 to 1900. Two volumes have already been published covering together the period from 1485 to 1715, one edited by an American scholar, the other by an English scholar. Some four years ago the Royal Historical Society projected a third volume covering the eighteenth century, to be edited by Professor D. J. Medley. A great deal of material has been collected for this volume in England. American participation has taken the form of a critical review of this material. It now appears that Professor Medley's uncertain health makes it impossible for him to assume complete editorial responsibility. An arrangement has accordingly been made between the Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association by which the material already collected has been transferred to America and placed in charge of Dr. Stanley Pargellis of Yale, who has kindly undertaken to complete the editorial work and to see the volume through the press.

International Committee of Historical Sciences. The Committee did not hold a general assembly in 1937 but plans an imposing Congress to be held in Zurich, August 28-September 4, 1938. By the end of May the number of persons announcing their intention of attending the Congress was 790, and the number of papers offered, 336. Of these, 26 Americans offered 13 papers. The progress of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* is satisfactory. Volumes I-X have now been issued, covering the years 1926-1935, and the work progresses in a normal and regular manner. It is, however, absolutely necessary to secure a larger number of regular subscriptions if the bibliography is to become self-supporting. Three issues of the *Bulletin,* the official organ of the Committee, have appeared in 1937. American scholars have been appointed to the various subcommittees of the International Committee. The organization of a new subcommittee on Far Eastern history should be noted. Its membership is not yet complete, but the American representative is Professor K. S. Latourette of Yale University. Mr. Leland, secretary of the A.C.L.S., has

agreed to assume responsibility for the compilation of titles of writings by American scholars on non-American history for the International Bibliography, which will enable the A.H.A. to reduce its customary appropriation of $200 for the International Bibliography to $100.

Membership Committee. The Membership Committee appointed three years ago to undertake an intensive drive for membership reached its term at the end of the year. Out of an appropriation of $500 for its work, it returned $289.67 to the treasury of the Association. The Council has decided to augment this balance to $300 and to apply it to a continuation of the drive for members by a reconstituted committee. The net result of the drive to date has been a net gain of 245 members, or, leaving out of account the losses, a gross gain of new members of 942. For the last four years the development in membership reveals the following:

Date	*Members Lost*	*Members Gained*	*Net Gain or Loss*
1933	409	127	282 minus
1934	244	188	56 minus
1935	200	245	45 plus
1936	260	308	48 plus

On November 30, 1937, the total membership was 3236, of which 519 were life members, 2336 were annual members, and 381 were institutional members. Of the total members, 2593 (including life members) have paid their dues, 643 are delinquent. The loss of members during 1937 to November 30 were: by death, 38; by resignation, 49; dropped for delinquency, 150; total loss, 237. The gain of members during the year to November 30: annual memberships, 350; institutional members, 39; total gain, 389; showing a net gain of 152.

An analysis of the geographical distribution of members shows the following: New England, 513; North Atlantic, 1018; South Atlantic, 200; North Central, 668; South Central, 119; West Central, 343; Pacific Coast Branch, 274; territories and dependencies, 3; other countries, 98. It is quite apparent that the Association is much stronger in the North Atlantic states (N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., and D. C.) than anywhere else in the country, with New York (466) leading. It is much stronger on the Atlantic Seaboard than elsewhere. It is weakest along the Pacific Coast. The drive for new members has been most successful this year in the following states: New York (52), Massachusetts (38), Pennsylvania (34), Illinois (32), California (17), D. C. (17), Ohio (16).

We are gaining new members at the rate of over 10 per cent a year. The difficulty is that we are losing so many, most of the losses being by delinquency. It is also apparent that a large number of members, about 20 per cent, who have not been dropped are behind in their payment of their dues. We need to increase membership, we very much need to hold on to the members we have, and we need to pay our bills on time.

THE FINANCES OF THE ASSOCIATION. The report of the Board of Trustees, distributed with the report of the Treasurer at the Annual Meeting, reveals the fact that the net result of the year's management of the investments of the Association has been a decrease in the market value of the securities held by the Association from $243,176.97 to $239,530.36, a decrease of about 1½ per cent, while the income from investments has increased from $9017.50 to $9896.00, an increase of nearly 10 per cent. The charges made by the Fiduciary Trust Company for the management of these securities amounted during the fiscal year to $1132.50, the brokerage charges on purchases and sales amounted to $279.22. The Board of Trustees itself filed no expense account. It is to be regretted that two members of the Board, Mr. Emerson and Mr. Ball, have tendered their resignations, due to the pressure of other duties. Their places were filled at the Annual Meeting by the election of Mr. Shepard Morgan, vice-president of the Chase National Bank, New York, and Mr. Leon Fraser, vice-president of the First National Bank, New York. At the same meeting Mr. Parkinson was re-elected to membership on the Board. He requested to be relieved from the chairmanship of the Board. Mr. Morgan was elected to be Chairman.

Operating expenses for the fiscal year were less by $719.81 than had been estimated in the budget, the economies effected being chiefly in the expenses of the Council and of the Membership Committee. Operating receipts for the fiscal year exceeded estimates by $3705.67, the important items of increase being in receipts from membership fees ($1417.79 over estimates), receipts from registration fees ($485 over estimates), and receipts from interest on investments ($670.47 over estimates). The net result was that the American Historical Association found itself better off at the end of the fiscal year by $4425.48 than it expected to be. It is to be noted, however, that total operating expenses exceeded total revenues by $732.15 and that to this extent the Association had to draw upon balances accumulated in previous years. Your Finance Committee estimates that the expenses of the fiscal year ending August 31, 1938, will exceed estimated revenues by about $1500, and that the expenses for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1939, will exceed revenues by about the same amount. It is to be hoped that the views of the Finance Committee will turn out to be unduly pessimistic, but it is certain that we are not yet in sight of a balanced budget and that we are steadily reducing our accumulated reserves. The Finance Committee estimates that on September 1, 1939, at the present rate of income and expenditure our cash balance in operating funds will be reduced to about $1600, and that September 1, 1940, will find us actually in the red. Once again it becomes apparent that we must increase our income or else reduce our expenditures. Our income is derived chiefly from two sources—our invested funds and our receipts from dues. It is

hardly likely that we can hope for much increase of revenue from invested funds without increasing our investments. Sooner or later we must make a definite concerted effort to enlarge our endowment. It may appropriately and gratefully be noted in this connection that Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, whose loss we all lament, made a bequest of $400 from his slender estate to the American Historical Association in his will.

The more promising source for an immediate increase in income is an increase in membership. An increase of 500 members would enable us to balance our budget comfortably without curtailing our activities. We must also hold on to the members we have. There are too many resignations and too many who are dropped because of failure to pay their dues. We must not curtail our activities. We should rather plan to increase them. But we can not make bricks without straw. Every member of the Association should realize that and do his part to add new members to the fold.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary.*

The Annual Report of the Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, for the fiscal year 1936-37 was distributed to members of the Association at the Annual Meeting.

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1938

President: Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois.[1]

First Vice-President: Frederic L. Paxson, University of California, Berkeley.

Second Vice-President: William Scott Ferguson, Harvard University.

Secretary: Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester.

Executive Secretary: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Annual Report: Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer; (former presidents) Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, William E. Dodd, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain, Guy Stanton Ford; (elected members) Dumas Malone, William L. Westermann, Bessie L. Pierce, Frederick Merk, Carl Wittke, I. J. Cox, Eugene C. Barker, Laurence B. Packard.

Executive Committee of the Council: James P. Baxter, 3d, Williams College,

[1] On account of the death of Professor Larson, on March 9, Professor Paxson has become President and Professor Ferguson, First Vice-President.

chairman; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Frederick Merk, Laurence B. Packard; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Dexter Perkins.

Council Committee on Appointments: Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago, chairman; Eugene C. Barker; (ex officio) Dexter Perkins, Conyers Read.

Board of Trustees: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman; Leon Fraser, Jerome D. Greene, Stanton Griffis, Thomas I. Parkinson.

The Pacific Coast Branch: President, James Westfall Thompson, University of California, Berkeley; Vice-President, Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington; Secretary-Treasurer, Francis H. Herrick, Mills College; *Council,* the above officers and Herman J. Deutsch, David Harris, Joseph B. Lockey, Rufus K. Wyllys; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review,* Louis Knott Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-third Annual Meeting: Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago, chairman, with power to appoint his associates.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Tracy E. Strevey, Northwestern University, secretary, with power to appoint his associates, recommending that representatives be appointed from the various institutions of higher learning in Chicago and thereabouts.

Committee on Nominations: Violet Barbour, Vassar College, chairman; Edgar E. Robinson, A. C. Krey, Kent R. Greenfield, Frank Owsley.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City; Assistant Editor, Eleanor D. Smith; Board of Editors, Arthur E. R. Boak, William L. Langer, Dumas Malone, Nellie Neilson, Dexter Perkins, Preserved Smith.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University; Assistant Editor, Katharine Elizabeth Crane; Executive Board, Erling M. Hunt, chairman; Conyers Read, secretary; Charles A. Beard, Phillips Bradley, Margaret A. Koch, Donnal V. Smith, Ruth Wanger, Edgar B. Wesley, Louis Wirth, (ex officio) Howard E. Wilson.

Committee on Membership: Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, chairman, with power to appoint his associates.

Committee on Prizes: George Louis Beer Prize, Raymond J. Sontag, Princeton University, chairman; David Harris, Alfred Vagts. *John H. Dunning Prize,* Kathleen Bruce, Williamsburg, Va., chairman; Marcus L. Hansen, Viola F. Barnes. *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize,* Albert H. Lybyer, University of Illinois, chairman; Leona C. Gabel, Walter C. Langsam. *Justin Winsor Prize,* Caroline F. Ware, American University, chairman; W. P. Webb, Colin B. Goodykoontz. *Jusserand Medal,* Louis R.

Gottschalk, University of Chicago, chairman; Howard Mumford Jones, Frank Monaghan.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Jakob A. O. Larsen, William E. Lunt, Edward Whitney.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur C. Cole, James G. Randall.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, Law School, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Walton H. Hamilton, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson, Charles Warren.

Committee on Historical Source Material: T. R. Schellenberg, The National Archives, chairman; *Subcommittee on Public Archives,* A. R. Newsome, Robert C. Binkley, Francis S. Philbrick; *Subcommittee on Historical Manuscripts,* Julian P. Boyd, Theodore C. Blegen, Lester J. Cappon.

Conference of Historical Societies: Dorothy C. Barck, New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City, secretary.

Committee on Publication of the Annual Report: Leo F. Stock, 231 First St., N. E., Washington, D. C., chairman; St. George L. Sioussat, Solon J. Buck, Lowell J. Ragatz.

Committee on Writings: Leo F. Stock, 231 First St., N. E., Washington, D. C., chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Waldo G. Leland.

Committee on Bibliography of American Travel: Frank Monaghan, Yale University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, Harry M. Lydenberg.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia, chairman; Evelyn Plummer Braun, Felix Greene, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam, Ralph C. Rounds, Elizabeth Y. Webb, Raymond Gram Swing.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, chairman; Kathryn L. Slagle, Thomas W. Streeter, Julian P. Boyd, Conyers Read.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: Social Science Research Council, Guy Stanton Ford. *International Committee of Historical Sciences: Delegates,* Waldo G. Leland, J. T. Shotwell; *Subcommittee on Archives,* R. D. W. Connor; *Subcommittee on Diplomatic History,* Samuel Flagg Bemis; *Subcommittee on Chronology,* John L. La Monte; *Subcommittee on Historical Iconography,* Leicester Holland; *Subcommittee on Historical Geography,* Charles O. Paullin; *Subcommittee on the International Bibliography of Historical Sciences,* Waldo G. Leland.

"The Story Behind the Headlines", a new series of radio talks on history, began on Friday evening, March 4, and will continue for ten successive Friday evenings from 7:15 to 7:30, E.S.T. It is being broadcast

over the National Broadcasting Company's blue network (Station WJZ in New York). This series is being presented under the joint auspices of the American Historical Association and the National Broadcasting Company. As its name implies, it is a series of talks on the history that lies behind the events of the day. Each week some event of front-page importance will be the take-off for a talk on some phase of the historical background of that event.

Because the American Historical Association does not feel that the lecture technique of the average professional historian is one which will interest the average radio listener, it has co-operated with the National Broadcasting Company in enlisting the services of Mr. Cesar Saerchinger, an experienced radio commentator. Mr. Saerchinger brings to the task a knowledge of radio and of journalism derived from years of experience in this country and abroad. He will base his talk each week upon material provided by an expert historian, after consultation with that historian. It will be part of the contribution of the American Historical Association to select the proper historian. The result should be the best of two worlds, the best of scholarship combined with the best of popular radio presentation. It should produce talks of the utmost interest to every American who reads the news. We commend this series of broadcasts to your attention and invite your comments. Please send suggestions and criticisms to Evelyn Plummer Braun, Director, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia. Copies of the talks, which are being printed by the Columbia University Press, will be available at a cost of ten cents each or one dollar for the series. For classroom use, ten or more subscriptions will be sent to the same address for ninety cents apiece. They may be obtained by writing to "The Story Behind the Headlines", Radio City, New York, or to Mrs. Braun.

The John H. Dunning Prize will be awarded this year and in alternate years hereafter instead of next year and in alternate years thereafter. This change was made by the Executive Committee at its meeting of March 6, the reason for it being that the Justin Winsor Prize is awarded in the odd-numbered years, and it seemed desirable not to have two American history essay prizes awarded in the same year. The final date for the submission of essays has been postponed, for this year only, from June 1 to September 1.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: additional photostats of letters of George Washington; photostats of notes of William Paterson relating to the framing of the United States Constitution, some dated May 29, 1798, and others undated; printed and photostat copies of papers of George Hamilton Gordon, fourth earl of Aberdeen, dated 1838 to 1860 and

privately printed; papers of W. A. Burnham and Israel Whitney (New Orleans business firm), 1839 to 1846; papers of Julia Ward Howe (mainly speeches, articles, and sermons), 1861 to 1910; Kentucky miscellany, 1775 to 1935; papers of Hamilton Fish; and consignments of photostats from the British Public Record Office, mainly Foreign Office correspondence concerning the Northwest boundary question and the Island of San Juan, 1846-69, and Hudson's Bay Company correspondence, 1859-71.

Of major value to students of the international relations and domestic history of the United States are the records of the State Department recently received by, or now in the process of transfer to, the National Archives. These include all records in the Archives Section of the Historical Adviser's Office to 1906, except passport material, which will be transferred only to 1880, and additional pardon and amnesty records (1789-1894) and extradition papers (1836-1906) from the Chief Clerk's Office. Accessions of special interest from other agencies are records from the Office of Indian Affairs, including those of the Indian Trade Office (1795-1822), the Depredations Division (1836-91), and the Indian Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior (1849-1907); and the records of the United States Fuel Administration (1917-19). Among other accessions are additional records of the Danish West Indies (Virgin Islands); records of the War Department, including correspondence and scientific data from the office of the Chief of Engineers (1789-1894); records of the Navy Department, including correspondence and other files of the Bureau of Yards and Docks (1834-1913), the Bureau of Ordnance (1842-1920), the Bureau of Navigation (1862-1911), the Bureau of Engineering (1908-22), the Bureau of Aeronautics (1917-36), and the Navy Alaskan Coal Commission (1919-21); records of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States Shipping Board (1917-35); the records of the United States Coal Commission (1922-23); and the records of several temporary agencies set up by President Hoover to deal with the problem of unemployment (1930-33).

Among the recent accessions of the Naval Historical Foundation the following may be noted: the Eberstadt Collection of 1500 prints and engravings of ships, battles, and seascapes by Dutch, German, English, and other artists, 15th to 20th century; a letter of Admiral David D. Porter about the battle of Fort Fisher, January, 1865; a document relating to the Cushing treaty with China, 1844; the journal of Philander Chase, jr., U. S. Frigate *Guerriere,* 1818-19; sixteen documents of Commodores O. H. and M. C. Perry, 1813-52; a print of the U. S. S. *Ranger,* John Paul Jones commanding, Quiberon Bay, 1778.

The numerous accessions to the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library are reported in its *Bulletin* of February (pp. 133-140). Among the larger or more important are the Sabin Collection of corre-

spondence, public documents, land papers, etc., including Washingtoniana, and correspondence of prominent statesmen, financiers, army and navy officers, etc., of America, England, and foreign countries, about 1800 pieces; Robert Bonner Papers, of *The New York Ledger,* 1860-92, about 1500 pieces; additions to the Horace Greeley Papers, 1838-56, 1861, 1863; Van Cortlandt Papers of New York, embracing correspondence and land papers, 1667-1890, about 200 pieces; a large mass of papers of William John Wilgus, consulting engineer and colonel and deputy director of transportation, A.E.F.; and a number of manuscripts relating to the armies and navies of the United States and Great Britain. An unusual accession of March, 1938, is a collection of the unprinted resolution books of the states of the province of Friesland, from 1584 to 1793, in 101 volumes and 3 volumes of Registers, preceded by 2 volumes covering the years between 1517 and 1564. The collection is of the utmost importance, since these official records exist only in manuscript, of which only a few copies have ever been made. It is a fuller set than exists at the Public Records Office at The Hague.

The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has given to the library of Columbia University its file of the *Daily Review of the Foreign Press,* with supplements. This is a set of about ninety-six volumes and runs from June, 1915, to November, 1918. There are not many sets in existence. The Columbia library has duplicates of individual numbers and would be glad to help fill out sets in other libraries. Communications should be addressed to the Librarian of Columbia University.

Recent accessions of the North Carolina Historical Commission include, in round figures, 67,000 pieces of manuscript court records of Bertie County, 25,000 pieces of court records of Hyde County, and 7500 pieces of court records of Pasquotank County; a few hundred marriage bonds from Bertie, Mecklenburg, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Wilkes counties; photostats of plans of the state capitol; a photostat of a map of the town of Halifax, N. C., 1769, by C. J. Sauthier (original in British Museum); and 20 volumes of inventories of printed or multicopied inventories of records of counties in various states of the Union, presented by the Historical Records Survey.

During the past year the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has made some important acquisitions of archives and business records. Among them are: a huge collection of papers from the governor's office, dating from the organization of the territory to the end of the century; a collection of letters received in the office of the secretary of state, dating from 1836 to the close of the Civil War; a group of more recent papers of the state insurance commissioner; and a number of volumes of records of the lumber inspectors for several Wisconsin districts, running roughly from

1860 to 1900. Records of business firms include: those of the James Richardson Company of Madison, which dealt in real estate and banking from about 1850 to 1868, and those of the land department of a Milwaukee bank that operated in northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas at the turn of the century; the office records of the O. Torrison Company, a mercantile concern of Manitowoc; and smaller collections of records of lumber companies, cheese factories, creameries, and grist mills. The Independent Order of Good Templars has turned over a half century's record of its work in the state, and the Daughters of the American Revolution their office correspondence for the years 1919-33.

Wake Forest College has recently acquired the library of the late Thomas M. Pittman of Henderson, North Carolina. This contains a large number of pamphlets and is rich in North Carolina and Baptist historical materials.

A conference to arrange for the organization of periodical congresses of Slavonic archaeology is to meet in Cracow this spring. It is proposed to publish a review, *Slavia antiqua,* and a bibliographical survey, *Anzeiger für slavische Altertumskunde.*

The Twentieth International Congress of Orientalists will be held in Brussels, Belgium, from the 5th to the 10th of September. A first circular was issued in February, asking that all those interested in the congress, whether their attendance is at this time certain or not, send in their names to the Secretariat in order that they may receive the later literature. Communications should be addressed to XX^{e} Congrès International des Orientalistes, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.

Intensive courses in the study of the Chinese language will be offered this year by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, from June 27 to August 20, at the University of Michigan. Instruction will be under the direction of Dr. George A. Kennedy of Yale University. In addition to the introductory course for beginners, a second year course for advanced students will be offered, comprising newspaper Chinese, stories from Chinese history, and selections from well-known Chinese novels. A limited number of tuition scholarships and grants-in-aid are available for those desiring to enroll for this summer session. Applications should be addressed to Jean W. Kennedy, 80 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut, not later than May first.

The second Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies will be held in the Graduate College, Princeton University, under the directorship of Professor Philip K. Hitti, for a period of six weeks beginning June 25. The courses are open to men and women of graduate standing and are designed to meet the needs of new students as well as those who attended the first

seminar in 1935. The courses in the Arabic language and Arab history will be given by Professor Hitti, Dr. Nabih A. Faris, and Dr. Edward J. Jurji. Those in the Turkish language and history will be offered by Dr. Walter L. Wright, jr., president of Robert College, Istanbul. Professor M. Aga-Oglu, of the University of Michigan, will have charge of the courses in Islamic art. Dr. Muḥammad Simsar, of the University of Pennsylvania, will give the courses in Persian. For further information address Dr. Nabih A. Faris, 58 Mercer Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

Complete sets of *Social Science Abstracts* for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which it was published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to $1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be $1.50. For Canada, the charge will be $3.00, and for other foreign countries, $4.00. Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

The Mohawk Valley Historical Association is arranging a celebration of the bicentenary of the arrival of Sir William Johnson in the valley in 1738. Local societies throughout the valley are supplying speakers to clubs, schools, and other audiences who might care to learn about Sir William. Arrangements are pending for a series of pageants to be presented during the summer at various places associated with Johnson's name.

The Royal Historical Society announces the award of a gold medal and money prize of £50 to the writer of the best essay on a subject to be selected by the candidate dealing with Scottish history during the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted and approved by the council of the society. In the event of the submission of a work of exceptional merit the society may award a prize in excess of £50. The competition will be held in the year 1940 pursuant to the provisions of the David Berry Trust. All essays submitted in competition for the prize should be in the hands of the Secretary of the Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S. W. 10, not later than October 31, 1940.

In the April of 1838 the little paddle steamer *Sirius* crossed the Atlantic Ocean under continuous steam power and won honor for herself as the pioneer transatlantic steamship. On the occasion of the centenary of this notable achievement a special exhibition, open to the public, entitled "One Hundred Years of Transatlantic Steam Navigation", has been assembled in the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, with a comprehensive series of models to show in outline the history and develop-

ment of the Atlantic ferry since the advent of the steamship. It will continue until the middle of September.

The first issue of a new periodical devoted to ancient history, published in Moscow under the title *Vestnik drevnej istorii* and edited by A. S. Svaindze, contains articles by B. Hrozný, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, D. Nielsen, and Ch. Virolleaud, in addition to contributions by Soviet historians.

The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society established last August a records branch for the publication of manuscript sources for Wiltshire history. The branch, which will conduct its activities on the lines of other record societies in Great Britain, will publish its first volume in 1938. This will be a calendar of *Feet of Fines* for the reign of Edward I. An edition of the text of the first assize roll for the county (33 Henry III) is also planned. The subscription to the branch is £1. 1. 0., though members of the Archaeological Society itself will be admitted for half that sum. Anyone who may be interested should address himself to the Honorary Secretary of the branch at The Museum, Long Street, Devizes, Wilts, England.

The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, published co-operatively by the British Columbia Archives and the British Columbia Historical Association under the editorship of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, completed its first year in 1937. It "aims to supplement, but in no sense to rival, the *Canadian Historical Review*", and it will probably supplant the hitherto occasional reports of the Association. Each number contains 68 pages, divided among articles, documents, notes and comments, and reviews of publications, relating to the Pacific Northwest. The magazine is agreeably made up and frequently contains illustrations and maps. Its articles reflect the greatly increased activity of the Provincial Archives under Dr. Lamb's direction. The subscription is fifty cents a number or two dollars a year, payable at the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B. C.

The founding of the *Société d'histoire de la Troisième République* has recently been announced. It will publish a quarterly bulletin.

A new semiannual periodical of a purely scientific character, *Monumenta Nipponica* (Tokyo, Sophia University Press, $4.00), aims to place before a wide circle of American and European readers the rich treasures of Far Eastern culture and to unite both Japanese and Western scholars interested in many aspects of this field of study. It proposes to emphasize the history of the relations between the East and the West, especially that of the so-called Christian century (1550-1650). Its first number contains detailed studies of such topics as the visit of Alexander Valignani to Japan (1588-91) and the early diplomatic relations of Japan with the Philippines. Special

studies on aspects of Japan's history by competent authorities, translations and annotations of both Chinese and Japanese works, and brief notes and reviews of books should make this journal one of the most important periodicals in its field.

The first number of the first volume of *Pennsylvania Notes* has been issued by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. It is in the form of a mimeographed bulletin and is to appear monthly. Its object is to furnish a means of exchanging information and ideas as to the varied historical life of Pennsylvania. Historical societies and interested individuals are urged to send data to the editor, S. K. Stevens, 216 Education Building, Harrisburg. Copies of the *Notes* may be obtained upon request.

The first issue of the *Journal of the Rutgers University Library,* which appeared last December, contains an article on the history of the library by William H. S. Demarest. This journal will be published from time to time by the Associated Friends of the Library of Rutgers University.

PERSONAL

Laurence Marcellus Larson, professor of history *emeritus* at the University of Illinois and this year president of the American Historical Association, died on March 9 at his home in Urbana, in his seventieth year.

Born near Bergen in Norway in 1868, Larson was brought to the United States two years later and spent his boyhood in a Norwegian community in northern Iowa. His undergraduate college course was taken at Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, to be followed, after five years of secondary school teaching, by graduate studies in history at the University of Wisconsin, where he received his doctorate in 1902. He was fortunate in entering Wisconsin at a time when the department of history included in its membership two outstanding scholars in their respective fields—Frederick J. Turner and Charles H. Haskins. It was to Haskins in particular that he owed his initiation in the medieval studies in which he was to make his own most significant contributions.

In 1904 Larson published his monograph on *The King's Household before the Norman Conquest,* winning high praise from so exacting a critic as the late Charles Gross, who noted the author's exceptional linguistic equipment, his "lucid style", and his competent use of the Norse sources. The book also attracted attention abroad, and shortly afterward Larson was selected to write the volume on *Canute the Great* (1912) in the Heroes of the Nations series. Other important contributions to the study of the Scandinavian Middle Ages were his translation of *The King's Mirror* (1917) and the volume on *The Earliest Norwegian Laws,* translated and edited for the Records of Civilization (1935).

Beginning in 1905, Professor Larson's contributions to this journal were numerous, and they continued until a few months before his death. Of special importance were his articles on "The Household of the Norwegian Kings" (1908), "The Political Policies of Cnut as King of England" (1910), and "Prussianism in North Sleswick" (1919). Reference should be made also to his keen interest in his fellow Americans of Norwegian descent. In his last book, issued by the Norwegian-American Historical Association in 1937 and entitled *The Changing West and Other Historical Essays,* will be found sympathetic but realistic studies of the Norwegian element in the Northwest, based in part on recollections of his own youth.

Larson's career as a university teacher began with his appointment as associate in history at the University of Illinois. From this position he was advanced by successive promotions during the next few years to a full professorship, which he held continuously until 1937, when he retired as professor *emeritus;* from 1923 to 1937 he was head of the department. He was generally recognized as one of the most skillful teachers in the university and a valued counselor on matters of educational policy. His loss will be felt most keenly by the intimate circle of his associates, past and present, who think of him first as a loyal colleague and generous friend. In the give and take of such intercourse, as well as in the classroom, discussion of weighty topics was lightened by sudden flashes of humor; but he will be remembered also as one who could "endure hardness as a good soldier".

Because of an oversight we have been slow in reporting the death of Thomas Maitland Marshall, which occurred on April 12, 1936, in Campbell, California, where he had gone in the previous spring after ill-health caused him to resign from the headship of the department of history of Washington University, St. Louis. Dr. Marshall was born in Lansing in 1876. He was graduated from the University of Michigan, studied at Stanford University, and in 1914 received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, his dissertation being *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (1914). He taught in the public schools of Wisconsin and California and at Stanford, Idaho, and Colorado universities before coming to Washington University as head of the history department in 1920. While at Washington University he served as a member of the board of editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* from 1921 to 1924 and as secretary of the Missouri Historical Society from 1923 until 1933. He collaborated with Professor Herbert E. Bolton in writing *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (1920), which presented American colonization as a phase of European expansion and gave unusually full treatment to the non-English colonies and also to the English colonies which were not included in the original thirteen. His writings

include also *Report on the Archives of Idaho* (1920), *Life and Papers of Frederick Bates* (2 vols., 1926), and a junior high school textbook, *American History* (1930). He edited the *Early Records of Gilpin County, Colorado, 1856-61* (1920) and contributed various articles to historical reviews, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* and the *Dictionary of American Biography.* He was honored by being made a fellow of the Texas State Historical Association for his contributions to the history of Texas, and an honorary member of the Michigan Academy of Arts, Letters, and Science. Dr. Marshall will always be remembered for his friendliness, his keen personal interest in his students, and his high standards of research.

Philip Van Ness Myers, author of several school textbooks in history, died in Cincinnati on September 20 at the age of 91. He was a graduate of Williams College in the class of 1871. He also held a master's degree from Williams, awarded in 1874, and a law degree from Yale, awarded in 1890. Honorary degrees were conferred upon him by Belmont College and Miami University in 1891 and by the University of Cincinnati in 1913. Dr. Myers was president of Farmers College, in Ohio, from 1879 to 1890 and professor of history and political economy at the University of Cincinnati from 1890 to 1900; he also served as dean of the academic faculty at Cincinnati from 1895 to 1897. Following the World War he was again attached to the University of Cincinnati as honorary lecturer. His school textbooks, which long enjoyed great popularity, include a *General History,* a *History of Greece, Rome: Its Rise and Fall, The Middle Ages, The Modern Age,* and *History as Past Ethics.*

On November 1 M. Henri Courteault, director of the archives of France and author of several studies on the history of Béarn, died at the age of 68.

Jaroslav Bidlo, professor of general history at the University of Prague for many years, died on December 1 at the age of 69. Professor Bidlo's special field was the history of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. He wrote substantial historical works on the Slavonic countries, Byzantine culture, and the Bohemian church.

With the death, on December 5, of Dr. Alphonse Mingana, honorary professor of Oriental languages and Islamics in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, one of the most colorful and heroic careers in the field of Oriental scholarship came to an end. Born in a remote corner of the civilized world, near Mosul, on December 23, 1881, and educated in the traditional system of an Oriental church, this Syro-Chaldean rose by sheer industry, intellectual attainments, and unaffected personality to a commanding scholarly position in the British Isles. His first work of importance was a Syriac document, *Bar-Penkayé* (Leipzig, 1908), edited and translated into French, in which he had discovered the earliest reference to the

Prophet Muhammad in a non-Arabic source. His last contribution was the edition of a manuscript, the oldest of its kind, containing a fragment of al-Bukhari's corpus of Moslem traditions. Between these two he found time and energy to edit, translate, and publish a number of works in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshuni (Arabic in Syriac characters used by the Maronites of Mt. Lebanon). As assistant keeper of Oriental manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester (1915-32), he contributed to its catalogue six hundred printed quarto pages and made several significant discoveries, notable among which was al-Tabari's *Book of Religion and Empire,* the earliest defense of Islam from the Jewish and Christian scriptures. Six stately volumes of *Woodbroke Studies* (1927-33) comprise documents of unique value for the history of Oriental Christianity as well as for the history and theology of Islam. In quest of antiquities and manuscripts he made repeated expeditions, financed by Cadbury of chocolate fame, to the Near East. The more recent were in 1924, 1925, and 1929. With all his erudition and fame, Mingana remained until the end of his life simple and unassuming in manner, warm and friendly in all his human relationships.

Wilberforce Eames, born in Newark, New Jersey, on October 12, 1855, died in New York City on December 6. Though he received but little formal education, he became one of the best educated of men. His distinctive scholarship was recognized by Harvard with the degree of master of arts in 1896, and in 1924 Brown made him a doctor of letters and Michigan a doctor of laws. In 1905 he was decorated by the French Republic as Honorary Officer of the Académie d'instruction publique des beaux arts et des cults. The Bibliographical Society of England gave its first gold medal to him, the only citizen of the United States to be so honored, and the Bibliographical Society of America, of which he was a founder, made him one of its first honorary members. He held honorary membership in the Grolier Club, the American Library Association, and other professional bodies. The New York Historical Society made him its gold medalist for distinction in history. All these honors he bore with singular humbleness of heart. Recognized as a truly great bibliographer, Dr. Eames was responsible for the continuation of Joseph Sabin's monumental *Dictionary of Books relating to America,* the editorship of which he assumed after Sabin's death (see the review of Sabin's *Dictionary* by Victor Hugo Paltsits, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLII, 773). A list of his printed monographs and other contributions down to 1924 may be found in *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (1924), pp. 23 ff. He was a man of the broadest historical interests. His private library, which at one time contained about 20,000 volumes, covered all times and all peoples. Nobody approached him in exact knowledge of Americana, and few knew as much about Africana. He was well informed about the history, literatures, languages, and races of India, Farther India, China, Japan, Korea, Greece,

Rome, Egypt, the European countries, the Americas, and the islands of the seas, and during the last twenty years of his life he brought together a remarkable Babylonian collection of original tablets and a fine library of books, including the publications of learned societies in Sumerian lore. These he had studied, catalogued, transcribed, transliterated, and many of them he had translated. Dr. Eames was called "the Sherlock Holmes of Books". It has been said of him that he was as retiring as a monastic. But he was easily approached. Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, his associate for nearly half a century, in the old Lenox Library and afterwards in the New York Public Library, wrote of Dr. Eames, in a sketch of his career published in the volume of essays that has been referred to:

> During all these years as a librarian and bibliographer he has been a Mecca for persons hungry for exact information. From his mountain of knowledge, precious ore has gone out in an abundant correspondence. With an abandon of generosity he has given away the results of his own investigations, to be used by others. His facts have been their help to reward; his advice has been their hope. He has done these things happily and modestly among men.

The numismatic world has suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Howland Wood, which occurred on January 4. Mr. Wood was born on May 30, 1877, in New Bedford. After attending the Moses Brown School in Providence, he entered Brown University and graduated with the class of 1900. As a boy he had become deeply interested in the collecting of coins and after graduation devoted more and more time to their study and elucidation. He served first as secretary and later as governor and chairman of the Board of Governors of the American Numismatic Association. In 1909-10 he was associate editor of *The Numismatist* and from 1910 to 1920 associate editor and then editor of *The American Journal of Numismatics*. In 1913 he was appointed curator of the American Numismatic Society and moved to New York to assume his new duties. For almost twenty-five years Mr. Wood filled this position with conspicuous success, and during his incumbency the collections of that institution grew from fifty thousand to over two hundred thousand specimens. Mr. Wood's literary output was considerable and covered an exceptionally wide range. His name will always be associated with his comprehensive and incisive studies of the coinages of the West Indies, of revolutionary Mexico, of Harar, of the Larin coinages of Ceylon, the Blacksmith Tokens of Canada, and the United States commemorative issues, as well as others too numerous to mention here. He easily surpassed his contemporaries in the extraordinary breadth of his numismatic knowledge, which was also remarkably detailed. In his chosen fields of Far Eastern, Islamic, and Latin-American coinages, as well as in his almost uncanny ability instantly to detect both ancient and modern forgeries, he was probably without peer.

William Kenneth Boyd, professor of history at Trinity College (now Duke University) since 1906, died on January 19 after an illness of more than a year. Born at Curryville, Missouri, in 1879, he was educated at Weaver College in western North Carolina, Trinity College (A. B., 1897, M. A., 1898), and Columbia University, where he received the doctor's degree in 1906, and where, like others of his generation, he came under the influence of Robinson, Burgess, and especially Dunning. His dissertation was *Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* (1906), but when he returned to his alma mater to teach, his interest was shifted, perforce, from early church history to a study of a region whose historical materials could be found at hand. Not without influence, also, was his association there with the late John Spencer Bassett, who started a tradition long nourished by Professor Boyd. He was the author of a *History of North Carolina, 1783-1860* (1919) and the *Story of Durham, City of the New South* (1925) and the editor of *North Carolina Tracts of the Eighteenth Century* (1927) and *William Byrd's Dividing Line Histories* (1929). He was joint author of several school histories and syllabuses, and for many years he was one of the editors of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. As a writer and teacher he was distinguished by soundness of thought, penetrating analysis, and clarity of expression. When the college became a university, Professor Boyd, as head of the department, surrounded himself with scholars of diverse interests yet harmonious personalities. Knowing that history could not be studied without sources, many of which were being lost with time, he dedicated himself to the building of a valuable collection of Southern Americana, a task the better done because of his immense enthusiasm and extraordinary bibliographical knowledge. He was a member of the Council of the American Historical Association, 1925-1927, and was chairman of the program committee in 1929.

On February 4 John Coffey Hildt, Parsons Professor of History at Smith College, died in Northampton in his fifty-fifth year. Professor Hildt took both his A.B. and his Ph.D. at the Johns Hopkins University. His dissertation, *Early Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Russia* (1906), was a substantial contribution to our diplomatic history. Professor Hildt's later studies were largely in the field of medieval history. He contributed some of the results of his researches in a monograph, "The Ministry of Stephen of Perche during the Minority of William II of Sicily", which appeared in the *Smith College Studies in History*, of which he was for many years a coeditor. During the World War Professor Hildt served as captain in the Military Intelligence Division of the General Staff and later was officer in charge of military information in the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Professor Hildt's teaching was largely done at Smith, to which he came as a young instructor in 1906. His lectures set a high standard and are remembered with enthusiasm by many generations of devoted students.

In spite of serious handicaps imposed during the last ten years of his life by reason of impaired eyesight, Professor Hildt did his full share of teaching and of departmental work. He also found it possible to contribute scholarly reviews to learned periodicals. His gallantry and his courage, in the face of great obstacles, will not be forgotten by his associates.

John Osborne Sumner, who died in Boston on February 20 at the age of 74, was a member of the department of history of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1894 till his retirement in 1933. His history courses were taken especially by architectural students. His *Materials for the History of the Government of the Southern Confederacy* was published in the *Papers* of the American Historical Association, 1890, Volume IV. Professor Sumner was vice-president of the Boston chapter of the American Archaeological Institute, a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of several clubs and historical societies.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *British Columbia,* E. A. R. Boak, Walter C. Langsam, Chester Martin; *California* (Berkeley), Hans Kohn; (Los Angeles), William Henry Ellison, Percy Alvin Martin; *Chicago,* Leo Gershoy; *Colorado,* F. Lee Benns, William Thomas Hutchinson; *Columbia,* Walter L. Dorn, William E. Lingelbach, Curtis P. Nettels, Roy F. Nichols, A. T. Olmstead; *George Peabody College for Teachers,* J. M. Batten, Dan Robison, B. I. Wiley; *Harvard,* Dietrich M. F. Gerhard, Fred A. Shannon; *Illinois,* N. C. Debevoise; *Johns Hopkins,* James Linus Glanville; *Michigan,* H. C. Krueger, R. H. McDowell; *Minnesota,* O. F. Ander, second term; *Missouri,* Paul H. Clyde, Robert E. Riegel; *Nebraska,* Kenneth Björk, E. E. Dale; *Northwestern,* Charles E. Chapman, A. H. Lybyer, R. C. McGrane; *Ohio State,* Gray C. Boyce, Oliver P. Chitwood; *Oregon,* George Verne Blue, Portland session, Edward Maslin Hulme, Portland session and post-session at Eugene, John Gilbert Reid, Eugene session; *Pennsylvania State,* Osgood Hardy, J. Orin Oliphant; *Stanford,* August Charles Krey; *Texas,* Guy B. Harrison, P. L. Rainwater, L. B. Schmidt, for the first term, V. A. Moody, Alfred Sweet, Ernest Wallace, for the second term, W. C. Binkley, R. L. Waller, C. F. Ward, for both terms; *University of Washington,* J. Fred Rippy; *West Virginia,* J. Huntley Dupré; *Wisconsin,* Harold C. Vedeler.

The chair of American History in the Library of Congress, which is associated with the post of Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library and which has been vacant since the death last September of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, is to be filled by Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, for the last seventeen years professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Sioussat will complete the academic year at the

University of Pennsylvania and will not fully assume his duties in Washington until June.

The Archivist of the United States announces the appointments of Thomas M. Owen, jr., formerly Chief of the Division of Accessions, as Chief of the Division of Independent Agencies Archives, No. 1; Philip M. Hamer, formerly Chief of the Division of the Library, who served as National Director of the W.P.A. Survey of Federal Archives, as Chief of the Division of Accessions; Dallas D. Irvine, formerly a deputy examiner in the Division of Accessions, as Chief of the Division of War Department Archives; and of the following deputy examiners as acting chiefs of divisions: Nelson M. Blake, Navy Department Archives; Theodore R. Schellenberg, Agriculture Department Archives; and Paul Lewinson, Labor Department Archives. Appointments have also been given Preston W. Edsall, recently special attorney in the Department of Justice, as special examiner in the Office of the Director of Archival Service; and Fred P. Todd, formerly Regional Director for New York State for the W.P.A. Survey of Federal Archives, as assistant in the Division of War Department Archives.

Dr. W. Edwin Hemphill, acting assistant professor of history at Davidson College, 1937-38, will serve during Dr. Lester J. Cappon's leave of absence for 1938-39 as acting assistant professor of history and as acting archivist of the library at the University of Virginia.

The second series of Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, named in honor of a former professor of history at Louisiana State University who distinguished himself as a scholar, researcher, and writer in the Reconstruction period, was delivered on February 21, 22, and 23 at the Louisiana State University by Professor Avery Craven. His subject was "The Rise of Southern Nationalism".

Governor Clyde R. Hoey has appointed Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City to fill the vacancy in the North Carolina Historical Commission caused by the death of Dr. Boyd. Mr. Griffin is the author of the *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties,* published in 1937.

Professors Clyde L. Grose and Franklin D. Scott, of Northwestern University, will carry on special research in Europe during the summer and attend the International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Zurich, Switzerland. Professor I. J. Cox of the same institution will give summer courses in the University of Puerto Rico and will travel in the West Indies and Caribbean region.

At the University of Tennessee Dr. J. Wesley Hoffmann of Montana State College was appointed professor of European history, and Dr. Paul K.

Walp of Marshall College was appointed assistant professor of political science and history, both appointments effective September, 1937.

Dr. Harold J. Noble, who was granted a Rockefeller fellowship for study in Japan and who has resided in Tokyo during the present academic year, will return to the University of Oregon at the beginning of the next fall term.

Professor Vincent Scramuzza of Smith College is visiting lecturer in Roman history at Harvard during the present semester.

At a meeting of the Agricultural History Society in Washington on February 8 Dr. C. J. Galpin, formerly in charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Department of Agriculture, gave an address on the development of the science and philosophy of American rural life during the last fifty years.

Dr. Erna Patzelt of Vienna is visiting lecturer in history at New Jersey College for Women for the present semester. Dr. Patzelt is associate professor (professor extraordinarius) of history at the University of Vienna, her special research field being the economic history of the Middle Ages. She is also prominent in the International Association of University Women.

Dr. William B. Munro, member of the executive council of the California Institute of Technology and formerly professor of history and government at Harvard University, has been elected a trustee of the Henry E. Huntington Library and treasurer of that institution. The other trustees are Herbert C. Hoover of Palo Alto, Archer M. Huntington of New York, Robert A. Millikan and George Ellery Hale of Pasadena.

The middle name of Ralph Ray Fahrney, whose book, *Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War,* was reviewed in our last issue (pp. 420-21), was unfortunately given as Lee.

Alfred P. James, of the University of Pittsburgh, is preparing for the press an edition of the letters of Brigadier General John Forbes for the years 1757-59. He would be grateful if any persons having knowledge of Forbes letters would communicate with him.

Maisie Ward (Mrs. F. J. Sheed) has been asked by Mrs. Chesterton to write the life of the late G. K. Chesterton. She would be very grateful if anyone who has letters from Mr. Chesterton would lend them as material for the biography. They will be copied and returned immediately. They should be sent to Mrs. G. K. Chesterton, Top Meadow, Beaconsfield, Bucks, England.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The review of my book, *Les trois races de l'Europe et du monde,* in the October issue of your esteemed periodical contains some inaccuracies which I want to point out.

I have written that in Europe the pure-bred Nordics are to be found in the north, principally in Scandinavia, the British Isles, the Netherlands, and the extreme north of Germany, while the Mediterraneans are in the south. I have, besides, established that in the course of the prehistoric epoch a Negro invasion settled in the central part of Europe, crossed with the Nordics living there, and thus created the mixed race called dinaric race. This race is numerous in Germany; I have shown that it possesses mental habits having, with those of the Negroes, some common features, and I have said that it is materialistic; I have added that it displays a practical mind, widely different from the progressive mind of the Nordic man which is creative (pp. 148-49). Yet your contributor writes in his review: "The Nordic, by contrast, is materialistic. He is practical. This trait, be it noted, he derives from the Negro admixture in his blood". The Negro traits that I point out in the dinaric race are ascribed by your contributor, Mr. Goldenweiser, to the Nordics.

On the other hand, I have written: "The Negro proves to be an inferior state of humanity above which Nordics and Mediterraneans raised themselves" (p. 26); which does not prevent your contributor from making me say several times that the Mediterranean is superior in an absolute manner and that he stands not only higher than the Negro but also higher than the Nordic.

That the description of the Mediterranean creations occupies in my book a wider space than that of the Nordic creations does, is the consequence (as clearly said on page 189) of the fact that this book treats of a period in the course of which an important Mediterranean civilization developed. A second volume, which I announce on page 263, will complete my work and speak, in its due place and time, of the important Nordic civilization I allude to on page 94.

If Mr. Alexander Goldenweiser were a German, it would account for his misinterpretation of my racial theory. In Germany were published relations of it which deformed it so as to outrage the national sentiment and deprive my demonstration of all verisimilitude. Humor or calumny aren't sufficient; one must be also accurate.

Brussels, December 9, 1937. PAUL BUYSSENS.